DIALECTS OF MACEDONIAN

BOŽIDAR VIDOESKI

Translated by
Paul M. Foster, Jr.

Introduction by
Victor A. Friedman

SLAVICA

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Abbreviations

1. Language names

Alb	Albanian
Ar	Aromanian
Bg	Bulgarian
Cr	Croatian
CS	Common Slavic
Gr	Greek
M	Macedonian
OCS	Old Church Slavonic
Sb	Serbian
Tu	Turkish

2. Grammatical terms

acc	accusative
act	active
adj	adjective
adv	adverb
aor	aorist
comp	comparative
dat	dative
def	definite
dim	diminutive
fem	feminine
fig	figuratively
fut	future
gen	genitive
hyp	hypocoristic
impf	imperfect
imv	imperative
indef	indefinite
masc	masculine
neut	neuter
nom	nominative
part	participle
pass	passive
pl	plural
pres	present
sg	singular
supl	superlative
′	palatal
’	palatalized
:	long, length

Transcription

Note: Macedonian dialect data are cited in Latin transliteration of the phonetic Cyrillic transcription used by Vidoeski in his field work, according to the following tables:

Vowels

i			ü							u
	ẹ								ọ	
		e			ă			o		
			ɛ		ạ		ɔ			
				ä		å				
					a					

Consonants

p	b			f	v	m			
				θ	ð				
t	d	c	ʒ	s	z	n	l		
		č	ǯ	š	ž			r	
		ḱ	ǵ			ń	l′		j
k	g			x					

Diacritics

Nasality	ą, ę
Semivowel	i̯, u̯
Vocalic sonant	r̥, l̥
Length	a:, e:, o:
Labialization	å
Fronted articulation	ä
Raised articulation	ạ, ẹ, ọ
Low sonority	b̭, ḓ, v̭
Palatality	t′, d′, l′
Palatalization	b’, p’, l’
Reduced articulation	*s*^{ă}*rce, le*^{j}*a, zme*^{x}
Stress	*víkam, ufčár, vikạ́se, vodénica*
Secondary stress	*véčerìca, zádušnìci, sévernìca*

Introduction

Božidar Vidoeski (born 8 November 1920 in Zvečan, Poreče region, Republic of Macedonia) was the father of Modern Macedonian dialectology. Not only did he publish numerous studies of individual dialects but also broader syntheses that superseded all previous attempts and that remain to this day the foundations of Slavic dialectology on Macedonian linguistic territory. The present collection contains translations of eight of Vidoeski's most important general Macedonian dialectological works, as well as his complete bibliography. It can thus serve as a basic textbook for any course that deals with Macedonian dialects but is also a fund of information and analysis for any scholar interested in the Macedonian language.

Vidoeski was educated in both Yugoslavia and Macedonia. He received his BA in 1949 and was immediately appointed to an instructorship in what was then the Department of South Slavic Languages of the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Skopje. His BA thesis, on the dialect of his native Poreče region, published in 1950, was the first BA thesis published by his Department. He received his doctorate in 1957 and was promoted to assistant professor in 1958. In 1964 he was promoted to associate professor and to full professor in 1967. He was elected to the Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1969. From 1971–77 he directed the Seminar for Macedonian language, literature, and culture, and in 1974 he initiated the Scholarly Colloquium (Naučna diskusija) as part of the activities of the Seminar. He was chairman of the Macedonian Department at the University of Skopje for many years and served as the general editor of the journal *Makedonski jazik*, published by the Institute for Macedonian Language, from 1973 until his death.

Vidoeski received numerous medals, awards, and honors including an honorary doctorate from the Silesian University in Katowice (1990) and memberships in the Yugoslav (now Croatian), Polish, and Serbian Academies of Arts and Sciences (1986, 1994, and 1997, respectively). He was the author, co-author, or general editor of approximately 300 publications, including the Macedonian section of the *General Slavic Linguistic Atlas* (OLA). In addition to his seminal dialectological work, Vidoeski was actively engaged in the standardization of literary Macedonian—his earliest articles were all concerned with questions of the emerging linguistic norm—and he served as one of Horace Lunt's chief informants for Horace G. Lunt's *Grammar of the Macedonian Literary Language* (1952), the first book on literary Macedonian grammar published in a foreign language. It is worthy of note that Vidoeski's willingness to work with Lunt was an act of singular courage, since it was politically dangerous for Yugoslav citizens to associate with western scholars at that time.

Vidoeski was especially active in collaboration with colleagues from Poland, having studied and taught at the University of Warsaw in 1959, and he helped establish a joint Yugoslav-Polish journal as well as co-authoring (with Z. Topolińska and V. Pianka) the first Macedonian-Polish/Polish-Macedonian dictionary (20,000 entries). He was also visiting professor at the University of Cologne in 1967-68.

The articles translated for the present collection span the period from his classic article on Macedonian linguistic geography ("The Dialects of Macedonian in Light of Linguistic Geography", 1962) up to the fruits of a lifetime of studying and thinking about Macedonian dialects: A general overview of Macedonian dialectal differentiation ("The Dialectal Differentiation of the Macedonian Language", 1996) and a study of Macedonian vocalic systems ("The Vocalic Systems of Standard Macedonian and the Dialects of Macedonian", 1997). Since the vocalic system is the locus of the most salient features of Macedonian dialectal developments, two additional studies focus on stress and quantity ("The Accentual Systems of the Dialects of Macedonian", 1993 and "Is there Phonological Quantity in the Dialects of Macedonian?" 1993). Vidoeski was aware of the fact that language is embedded in its social and historical context, and three of the works translated here reflect that awareness. The study of social factors ("Social Factors in the Differentiation of the Dialects of Macedonian", 1968) focuses on the two most significant cultural components in Macedonian dialectal differentiation: Distinctions between urban and rural dialects and features characteristic of Muslims or of Christians within the Macedonian-speaking world. Vidoeski's studies of the formation of Macedonian dialects ("The Formation of the Dialects of Macedonian", 1970) and developmental tendencies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries ("Tendencies in the Development of the Dialects of Macedonian in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries", 1977) give us the historical background that contextualizes the Macedonian dialects of today. Taken together, these eight articles give a masterful overview of Macedonian dialectology by the master of the field.

Another aspect of Vidoeski's work is as important as his many publications: He was a friend, mentor, and colleague to many generations of scholars from both Macedonia and abroad. His significance to the field is thus felt not only in his many publications and formal scholarly activities, an excellent representative sample of which is presented in this volume, but in the kindness, guidance, and inspiration that he gave so generously to so many of us. Božo died unexpectedly of a heart attack on 16 May 1998. He is sorely missed by all who knew him, but his work lives on as a permanent contribution to the advancement of human knowledge. Thanks to this book, that work will now be more readily available to a wider audience.

Victor Friedman

The Dialectal Differentiation of the Macedonian Language (General Overview)*

1. The Macedonian language occupies the central portion of the Balkan peninsula. Its territory comprises the Vardar and Struma river basins and the lower reaches of the Mesta (Gk Nestos) river. It is bordered in the west by Albanian linguistic territory. To a large degree the linguistic border in this area coincides with the political border between the Republic of Macedonia and Albania. The boundary is formed by the Korab–Dešat–Jablanica mountain range, from where it descends to the southwestern part of Lake Ohrid. In the area of the Albanian side, there remain some thirty Macedonian speaking villages in the Drim river valley west of the town of Debar, and in the region of Golo Brdo, as well as three villages on the shore of Lake Ohrid. From the southern shore of Lake Ohrid, the border runs to the southeast across Mt. Galičica to the southwestern part of Lake Prespa, from where it continues to the south across Mt. Mokra to Mt. Gramos, southwest of Kostur (Gk Kastoria). On the Albanian side of the border in this area there are some ten villages on the western shore of Lake Prespa and three villages east and southeast of the town of Korča (Alb Korçë).

In the south, Macedonian borders Greek from Mt. Gramos all the way to the Mesta river in Thrace. The linguistic border in this region extends significantly to the south of the present political border between the Republic of Macedonia and Greece. Macedonian can be heard all the way to a line running from Mt. Gramos, Ber (Gk Veroia) to Solun (Gk Thessaloniki). From Solun the boundary continues to the east through the Bogdansko region, which includes the archaic dialect of the villages of Suho (Gk Sohos) and Visoka (Gk Osa)—both well known in Slavic linguistics—to the Mesta river slightly northeast of the town of Drama. In the east, Macedonian borders Bulgarian. In this region the Despat–Rila mountain range forms a natural border. From Rila the boundary turns to the northwest slightly north of Blagoevgrad

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(Gorna Džumaja) and coincides with the political border between the Republic of Macedonia and Bulgaria.

In the north, moving towards Serbian linguistic territory, the linguistic boundary follows the present political border between the Republic of Macedonia and Yugoslavia. Here too, there is a natural border formed by the mountains Kozjak–Ruen–Skopska Crna Gora–Šar–Korab.

These are the present borders of Macedonian linguistic territory. In the past, the Macedonian Slavic population was found far to the west and to the south of the present borders. Many historical sources report that a Slavic population lived in southern and central Albania, and to the south in Epirus, Thessaly and along the entire Aegean coast. In this region, a large part of the toponyms are Slavic, especially the microtoponyms. As the Macedonian Slavic population was pushed back through the centuries, the southern and western borders have moved further to the north, and to the east on the Albanian side. The process of the shifting of the Macedonian ethnic border, and therefore the linguistic border, has continued into the modern period and continues today.

A mixed population, mostly Macedonian and Albanian, inhabits the Macedonian-Albanian linguistic border area in a relatively narrow region along the line Skopje–Tetovo–Debar–Struga–Pogradec–Korča. To a large degree, this population is bilingual.

Also a mixed Macedonian and Greek population lives along the Macedonian–Greek linguistic border area in a wide region of Aegean Macedonia. The Macedonian population dominates numerically in the Kostur–Lerin (Gk Florina) and the Voden (Gk Edesa)–Pazar (Gk Giannitsa) border regions. According to 1951 census data, there were around 250,000 Slavs, that is Macedonians, living in Greece.

In addition to the Macedonian population, Greeks, Aromanians, and Albanians live in the southwest part of the Albanian and Greek border region. In many locations along the Gramos–Rupišta–Neguš (Gk Nausa)–Meglen line, the population is trilingual. The Macedonians, beside Macedonian, speak Greek—the official language—and Aromanian.

The northern linguistic border is relatively stable. The relocation of the population through the centuries was accomplished gradually in this area and did not leave noticeable traces on the language. In the Kozjak region, the dialect of several villages, the inhabitants of which have declared themselves as Serbs, is not distinguishable in any way from the dialect of the Macedonian population.

The Macedonian population in Pirin Macedonia (around 180,000 according to 1956 census figures), located in the Republic of Bulgaria, besides their native Macedonian dialect, also use the Bulgarian standard language as their official language.

2. Genetically, Macedonian belongs to the South Slavic group of languages, along with Bulgarian, Serbian/Croatian, and Slovene. These languages share a number of common features: the development of initial **orC*, **olC* into *raC*, *laC*, e.g., M *raste* 'grows' 3 sg pres, *lakot* 'elbow', the metathesis of liquids in the groups **CorC*, **CerC* – **ColC*, **CelC* into *CraC*, *CrěC* – *ClaC*, *ClěC*, M *vrana* 'crow', *breg* 'shore', *mleko* 'milk', the change of **ę* > *e*, M *pet* 'five', the results of several changes connected with the so-called second palatalization of velar consonants, the change of **kv-*, **gv-* to *cv-*, *ʒv-* before **ě* and **i* of diphthongal origin, the instr ending **-omь* for masc and neut old o-stem substantives, e.g., OCS *rabomь* 'slave', *selomь* 'village', *da* as a subordinate clause marker, and, in derivation, the development of suffixes with the element *-c-*, the suffixes **-al'ьka*, **-ice*, as well as many lexical or lexicalized features.

3. Macedonian and Bulgarian constitute a more closely related unit within the South Slavic language group. The most important old dialectal feature differentiating them from Serbian or Croatian is the open (low) articulation of the vowels **ě* and **ǫ*. Following the loss of the jers and denasalization, nasal **ǫ* in both Macedonian and Bulgarian merged with the so-called secondary jer ($ъ_2$)[1], e.g., M *raka* 'hand' – *magla* 'fog', Bg *răka* – *măgla* (cf. Sb *ruka* – *magla*). In Bulgarian and in a wide area of the Macedonian linguistic territory, the reflexes of the CS clusters **tj*, **dj* were *št*, *žd* while in southwestern Macedonian dialects they were, perhaps, *šč*, *žǯ*, e.g., Macedonian dialectal *gašti* 'shorts' – *gašči*, *mežda* 'boundary' – *mežǯa*, Bg *gašti* – *mežda*, Sb *kuća* 'house'– *međa*.

On the Balkan peninsula, a series of common innovations developed in Macedonian, Bulgarian, as well as the Serbian Torlak (Prizren–Timok) dialects under the influence of neighboring non-Slavic Balkan languages. Among the more important common innovations are: the loss of quantity and tone, the loss of the inherited synthetic declension and the shift to an analytic expression of case relations—with prepositions and one general oblique form (*casus*

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[1] Both here and in subsequent usages, the conventional term "secondary jer ($ъ_2$)" should be interpreted as "secondarily inserted vowel" [ed. note].

generalis), e.g., *go vide Marka* '[s/he] saw Marko', *mu reče na Marka* '[s/he] told Marko', *odev so Marka* '[I] went with Marko', then the appearance of the grammatical category of definiteness, which is formally expressed with special article morphemes, e.g., *go vide čovekot* '[s/he] saw the man', (in Macedonian also *čovekon* 'that man', *čovekov* 'this man') and analytic comparison of adjectives, e.g., *podobar* 'better' comp, *najdobar* 'best' supl. These two languages, and, in part, the Torlak dialect, experienced many common changes in the area of conjugation as well. They both lost the infinitive, which was replaced by a *da* clause, new forms developed with the auxiliary verb **xotěti*, e.g., M *ḱe odam*, future; *ḱe odev*, future in the past; *ḱe sum odel*, indef future in the past, etc. An important structural innovation common to both languages is the doubling of the object, e.g., M *go vide čovekot* '[s/he] saw the man', *zemi ja knigata* 'take the book', *Mu ja dade knigata na Petreta* '[s/he] gave the book to Petre'.

These and other features of the grammatical structure have brought Macedonian and Bulgarian closer to the non-Slavic Balkan languages—Aromanian, Albanian, and Greek. All of these languages today make up the so-called Balkan *Sprachbund.*

The eastern group of the South Slavic languages (Macedonian and Bulgarian) have gradually separated from the western group (Serbian, Croatian, Slovene), which has, to a large degree, preserved the inherited Slavic grammatical structure, while most of the innovations that developed in this region have a different character.

4. In the course of time, Macedonian has also undergone a significant number of changes due to its contact with Serbian.

A number of the oldest innovations arising on the Serbian/Croatian area have spread also to the northern part of the Macedonian linguistic territory. In one part of the northern Macedonian dialects *ь and *ъ fell together as in the Serbian/Croatian diasystem, e.g., *săn* 'dream', *dăn* 'day'. Also in this region, the isoglosses of the *u* and *a* reflexes of nasal **ǫ* intersect, e.g., *ruka – raka* 'hand' or *ruka*, the general form *na ruku* besides *na ruka*. In place of **tj*, **kt'*, **dj* in common nouns, the reflexes *ḱ* and *ǵ* regularly appear, e.g., *kuḱa* 'house', *pleḱi* 'shoulders', *veǵi* 'eyebrows', *čaǵe* 'soot'. The reflex of vocalic **l̥* is the same here as in neighboring Serbian dialects—*u* and *lu* after dentals in the more northern band, but *lă* in other areas of the northern group, e.g., *vuk* 'wolf', *sluza – slăza* 'tear', *dlugo – dlăgo* 'for a long time'.

Another series of features, both grammatical and derivational, connect the northern Macedonian with Serbian dialects. Some of these features, characteristic for the Serbian linguistic area, have penetrated deeply into Macedonian territory. Thus, for example, the phonemes /ḱ, ǵ/ from **tj* and **dj* are encountered in many lexemes and morphemes in even the most southern Macedonian dialects. On Macedonian territory, therefore, the reflexes of **tj*, **kt'* – **dj* occur in two forms—*št* – *žd*, or *šč* – *žǯ* and *ḱ* – *ǵ*, e.g., *pleḱi*, *pleška* 'shoulder', *sinoḱ* 'previous evening' adv, *sinošen* 'the previous evening's' adj, *sveḱa* 'candle', *svešnik* 'candleholder', *meǵa* 'boundary', *mežnik* 'boundary marker'. Some lexemes, e.g., *veḱe* 'already', *sreḱa* 'happiness', *nesreḱa* 'unhappiness', *takuǵere* 'also', *s(v)eǵere* 'everywhere' adv, and the particle *ḱe*, have spread over the entire Macedonian linguistic territory. The change of *č* to *c* in the old groups **čr̥* -, **črě*-, e.g., *cr̥n* 'black', *cr̥pe* 'scoop' 3 sg pres, *crevo* 'hose', the reflex *u* for **ǫ* in individual lexemes, e.g., *kuḱa*, *sud* 'court' etc., the pronoun *on*, and the preposition *u* are the result of the influence of Serbian. The change of *ě* to *e*, e.g., *bel* 'white', *leb* 'bread', *seno* 'hay' and the dispalatalization of consonants is a common tendency in both Macedonian and Serbian. Included here should also be the new "iotation" of the groups *tj*, *dj*, *nj*, e.g., *braḱa* 'brothers', *luǵe* 'people', *trńe* 'thorns'.

It is interesting to note that those features attributed to Serbian influence extended most deeply into the Macedonian linguistic area along the Vardar river valley, the main communication route to Salonika and the Aegean sea. Serbian influence on Macedonian increased at the end of the thirteenth century, when the borders of the Serbian medieval state were extended southward.

On the other hand, Macedonian, to a certain degree, has influenced the Serbian dialects along the border. In the Prizren–South Morava area of Serbian territory, the following are considered Macedonisms: the phonetic form of the verbal morpheme *-na-* < **nǫ*-, e.g., *padnal* 'fall' masc sg *l*-part; prothetic *j* before an initial *u* < **ǫ* in such examples as *juže* 'rope', *jutăk* 'accomplice', *juzăl* 'knot'; the dental pronunciation of *l* before back vowels and consonants, e.g., *lakăt* 'elbow', *loš* 'bad, *dal* 'give' masc sg *l*-part; the elimination of vowels in proclitics when the following word begins with a vowel, e.g., *s-izmi* '[s/he] washed himself', *m-izede* 'it ate me' fig, *d-umre* 'let him/her die' (*se izmi, me izede, da umre*); pronominal clitics *nè* and *vè* 1 pl acc and 2 pl acc; the verb forms *sa* 'are' (3 pl from *sum* 'to be'); *bile* 'be' pl *l*-part; verbal morphemes *-(x)mo*, *-(x)te* 1 pl aor and 2 pl aor; the loss of gender in the pl of the *l*-part, e.g., *bile*. However, in contrast to Serbisms, which penetrated deeply into the linguistic structure of Macedonian, Macedonisms in Serbian were limted to the extreme periphery.

5. On the other hand, Macedonian has developed a series of innovations which have oriented its grammatical structure in a direction away from the Bulgarian area. A new center of innovations appeared in the Macedonian area at almost the same time as those innovations which have been defined as East South Slavic. These phenomena have influenced Macedonian linguistic structure as a whole.

Among the very oldest phonetic innovations that served to differentiate the Macedonian linguistic area, is the replacement of strong jers: *ъ to *o*, *ь to *e*, e.g., **sъnъ* > *son* 'dream', **dьnь* > *den* 'day'. In Bulgarian, *ă* replaced *ъ, e.g., **sъnъ* > *săn* 'dream'. In Serbian/Croatian the two jers merged (*ъ = *ь > *a*) in the Neoštokavian dialect, e.g., *san* 'dream', *dan* 'day'. This *o*/*e* jer-replacement feature, which originated in the Macedonian source of innovations, affected practically all of today's ethnic Macedonia, with the exception of the zone bordering Serbian linguistic territory in the north and the edge of the zone bordering the Rhodopian dialect of Bulgarian in the southeast. Later, in individual morphemes, this innovation spread farther to the northeast, covering a part of the Bulgarian linguistic border zone.

A series of new features spread in the linguistic area defined by the change of *ъ and *ь to *o* and *e*, a process completed already by the tenth to eleventh centuries. Through the centuries, these features caused Macedonian linguistic area to be distanced even more from other centers of innovation in neighboring Slavic territories. Among the most important innovations are the following: phonetic—the appearance of word-initial *j* before *ǫ, and its reflexes, e.g., *jaglen* 'coal', (*joglen*, *jăglen*, *jäglen* in different local dialects); the merging of the front nasal *ę with *ě, e.g., *meso* 'meat', *mera* 'measure' (also in some dialects: *mjäso*, *mjära*); the dispalatalization of the old palatals, which led to the elimination of the opposition between pairs of consonants according to the feature of palatality; later the loss of the phoneme /x/, its replacement with /v, f/ in the western part of the linguistic territory; the appearance of the palatal consonants /ḱ, ǵ/; the iotation of the consonantal groups *tj*, *dj*, *nj* to /ḱ, ǵ, ń/; in grammar—the pl substantival endings *-ovi* (*denovi* 'days') and *-ińa* (with the phonetic variants *-ina*, *-ijna*), e.g., *pilińa* 'chicks', *prasińa* 'piglets'; verbal endings *-me* for 1st pers. pl. for all verbs, e.g., *imame* 'have', *orame* 'plow', *nosime* 'carry', *bereme* 'gather'; and *-le* in the pl for *l*-participles, e.g., *bile*, *zele* 'take'; then the absence of the auxiliary verb in the 3rd person old perfect, e.g., *toj bil* 'he was', *tie bile* 'they were'. Important structural changes in the verbal system in the Macedonian linguistic area were brought about by the emergence of constructions with *ḱe* and the auxiliary verbs *ima/nema* plus an old *-n/-t* participial (sg neut part form): *imam dojdeno*, pres of *ima* plus the *-n/-t*-part form; *imav dojdeno*, impf of *ima* plus the *-n/-t*-part form; *sum imal dojdeno*, indef past of *ima* plus the *-n/-t*-part form; and someplaces even *bev imal dojdeno*, pluperfect of *ima* plus the *-n/-t*-part form; and *sum* plus a *-n/-t*-part form for all verbs, including intransitive, e.g., *sum dojden*, pres of *sum* plus the *-n/-t*-part form; *bev dojden*, impf of *sum* plus the *-n/-t*-part form; *sum bil dojden*, indef past of *sum* plus the *-n/-t*-part form, etc. As a result of these developments and their inclusion in the verbal system of Macedonian, the functional differentiation between the new forms and the inherited Slavic forms came into being.

Stress and its syntagmatic character gave Macedonian a distinctive characteristic. A new accentual system formed on Macedonian linguistic territory. Lexical stress is fixed on the third syllable from the end in multisyllabic word forms, e.g., *brátučed* 'cousin' – *bratúčedi* 'cousins' – *bratučédive* 'these cousins'. Entire syntagms are subjected to one stress, e.g., *Májka-mu tolkú-vreme ne-beše-go-vídela sína-si* 'His mother had not seen her own son for a long time', *Od-préd-vrata mu-ja-zédoa novata-kóšula* 'They took his new shirt from in front of the door'. It should be also noted here that unaccented vowels are not reduced, except in a small number of dialects in southeastern Macedonia. Macedonian is unique in relation to neighboring Slavic languages in that it is possible for a pronominal or verbal clitic to stand in front of the verb, e.g., *Mu reče na brat-mu* 'He told his brother', *Go vikna deteto* '[s/he] called the child', *Sum mu bil na svadbata* '[I] was at his wedding'.

These linguistic features have a single source of innovations in common and most operate in the framework of the Macedonian linguistic area, covering varying amounts of territory. Their isoglosses form closed lines and move approximately in the same direction. A separate diasystem has formed on today's Macedonian linguistic territory, yet this diasysterm has not severed its links with that in present-day Bulgarian, and it is ever strengthening its connections with the diasystem of the Serbian/Croatian linguistic area.

6. The majority of the above-mentioned innovations, as well as a series of others, appeared as a result of language contact between Macedonian and the non-Slavic Balkan languages, most importantly with Balkan Romance. Balkan languages influenced Macedonian on two levels. First, they triggered new processes, which developed further in their own way as allowed by the linguistic system of Macedonian, or the microsystem, if the phenomenon functioned in a single smaller area of the Macedonian diasystem. Second, the non-Slavic languages retarded the development of several linguistic processes in the grammatical structure.

The innovations which developed in contact with the non-Slavic Balkan languages and are known as "Balkanisms" consist of the following: the loss of synthetic declension; the development of the category of definiteness for nouns, and connected to this, the phenomenon of postposed article; analytic comparative forms; the doubling of the object; modal verb forms with *ḱe*; and constructions with *ima/nema* and with *sum* + verbal *-n/-t* form. These innovations have covered a wide area of the Slavic Balkans. To a certain degree, most of them are also found in the Bulgarian diasystem, and part of them also in the Torlak dialects on the Serbian linguistic territory. A good part of them, however, have been restricted to the Macedonian area and have penetrated deeply into the structure of Macedonian. In the western and southern regions of Macedonian linguistic territory the following have been attested: the preposed use of clitics, e.g., *Go vide Stojana* '[s/he] saw Stojan', *Mu reče na Stojana* '[s/he] told Stojan', *Si go izel lebot* '[s/he] ate the bread'; the omission of the preposition *vo*, e.g., *ḱe odam Bitola* '[I] will go to Bitola', *Otide Prilep* '[s/he] went to Prilep'; the expression of the direct object with the preposition *na* for nouns signifying animate objects, e.g., *Go vikna na Marko* '[s/he] called Marko'; the generalization of a single pronominal form *mu* (dat masc and neut) as a grammatical signal for the dat object, e.g., *Mu reče na čovekot* '[s/he] told the man', *Mu reče na deteto* '[s/he] told the child', *Mu reče na ženata*, '[s/he] told the woman', *Mu reče na ženite/decata/mažite* '[s/he] told the women/children/men'. The use of the preposition *od* in possessive meaning shows many parallels between western Macedonian dialects and Aromanian, e.g., *kuḱata od Marka* 'Marko's house'. On the entire western territory from Gostivar to Korča and Kostur, the vowel *a* has been nasalized due to the influence of the nasal sonants *m*, *n*, thus *ą*, and therefore shares the same reflexes as the old back nasal **ǫ*, e.g., *snăga* 'strength' (< *snaga*), *znăm* '[I] know' 1 sg pres (< *znam*) in upper-Polog, Debar, Ohrid–Prespa, *snoga* in Mala Reka, *snåga* in Drimkol–Golobrdo, respectively. In a narrow zone in southwest Macedonia, the *l*-participle has been lost, together with all compound forms formed with it (perfect, pluperfect, potential). The functions of these forms have been taken over by corresponding constructions with *ima/nema* and with *sum*. In the Suho–Visoka dialect, in place of the particle *ḱe*

Greek *za* (< Gk *tha*) is used for the future: *za nosa* '[I] will carry'. A series of Balkanisms on Macedonian territory is found also in derivation, e.g., the diminutive-hypocoristic suffix *-ule*: *detule* 'small child', *bradule* 'small beard', and especially in the lexicon. All of the above-mentioned linguistic features are spread over the western and southern peripheries of Macedonian, where it borders Albanian and Greek, and where today there is the greatest concentration of Aromanian population.

"The influence of the Balkan linguistic environment is seen not only in the changes that the inherited Slavic grammar has undergone, but also in the preservation of individual separate forms, where a correspondence with Balkan languages existed" (Koneski 1960: 493). The preservation of the aor and impf is explained in this way, as is the preservation of the dat for masc and fem personal and kinship terms in the western Macedonian dialects.

7. Innovations that developed on Macedonian linguistic territory did not spread equally or in the same direction. As we have seen, one part of them has covered all of Macedonian linguistic territory. These have become features that serve to differentiate Macedonian from both Serbian and Bulgarian. This is the case with the reflexes of the jers.

Another group of innovations has taken root on only a part of Macedonian dialectal territory, while old features, which are otherwise in retreat, still survive elsewhere, i.e., a new process is either not completed or is impeded in a microsystem. Of course, this is true for areas where unilateral innovations are countered geographically by old features. In such cases the old features are maintained on the periphery. Thus, for example, on the western and southern Macedonian linguistic periphery, there are still examples of nasality preserved, albeit not in the original pronunciation, in place of nasals *ę and *ǫ, e.g., *grandi* 'breast', *penda* 'span' in Korča, and *dămbje* 'oak grove', *čendo* 'child' in Suho–Visoka, and in some locations the broad pronunciation of *ě is still retained, e.g., *r'äka*, or *rjäka* 'hand'. In isolated lexemes *č* is maintained in sequences with *r̥, e.g., *čărvec* 'worm', *čărpit – čårpit* 'scoop'. In the Macedonian Korča dialect in southern Albania, the synthetic dative for both sg and pl substantives is preserved. Here we find the remainders of the old declension of articles, e.g., *starcatogo* 'the old man' gen sg, *starcutomu* dat sg. Only in this dialect is the pronoun *sь preserved up to the present time in the form *soj* 'this'. Dat inflected forms of personal names and kinship terms are found in a wide area of western Macedonia, e.g., *Stojanu*, *Marku/Marko(v)e*, *Mare/Mari*. The verbal ending *-t* is found for the 3 sg, and in many dialects the 1 sg present ending *-m* has not been generalized.

All of the above-mentioned markers, and still other older and unaltered ones, appear today as specific features of the western dialects and stand in opposition to new features that have appeared in their place in the eastern, northern, and southern dialects. Other archaic markers are also preserved on the eastern periphery, e.g., free mobile accent, the phoneme /x/, the pl endings *-ove*, *-e*, *-eta* for masc and neut substantives. The southeastern dialects have preserved the old phonologically relevant distinction of palatalization for consonants.

Nonetheless, it is apparent that the largest number of archaic markers are preserved on the zone bordering Albanian, Aromanian and Greek, where there are also many innovations resulting from inter-linguistic contact. Therefore, the western, the southwestern and in part, the southern Macedonian dialects have the most archaisms, as well as the most innovations. On the eastern side, in the zone bordering Bulgarian linguistic territory, the transition to the Bulgarian dialects is less marked.

There is a single center of innovations located in the central regions of the Macedonian linguistic territory for the innovations examined so far.

8. The second group of innovations relevant to dialectal differentiation are the so-called bifurcating innovations. In place of the old, there appear two new and different features. This is the case with word-initial *j* and *v* before the reflex of **ǫ* in the western and eastern dialects respectively, e.g., *j(adica)* 'hook, cast', *v(adica)*, *j(atok)* 'thread', *v(atok)*. In this case, we are dealing with two centers of innovation. One of them is located in the central area of the western dialectal region.

In place of a single old feature in the dialectal language, more than two new ones, each of which functions individually in its own microsystem, have occasionally developed, e.g., the reflexes of nasal **ǫ*. It has been dephonemicized. In one region, it has been completely lost and has merged with another existing phoneme: /a/ in the central, /u/ in the north, /o/ in Mala Reka. In such instances, it could have affected only the redistribution of the phoneme with which it had merged, or more exactly, with which it had been identified. However, in several microsystems **ǫ* maintained its independent position in relation to other vocalic phonemes—it changed only its quality, and accordingly, its place in the system. In other words, it changed only its constitutive elements, i.e., its distinctive features. Therefore, in the Macedonian linguistic periphery we find as a reflex of *ǫ the phonemes /ä̆/, /ȧ̆/, and /å̆/. These have contributed to the establishment of three new vocalic systems. In such multilateral innovations, we have complex area oppositions and thus can speak of numerous micro-centers of innovation in the framework of a single diasystem. In the majority of cases, the isoglosses of such innovations are closed lines. These innovation centers are also found most often in the west Macedonian area.

9. The Macedonian linguistic area is divided clearly into three larger groups of dialects or dialect complexes: western, southeastern, and northern. (See Map 1 following p. 38.)

9.1. The dialects of the western border zone from Mt. Šar and the border with Serbian linguistic territory all the way to the southern shore of Lake Prespa belong to the western dialect complex. Its eastern border moves from the southern part of Lake Prespa toward the northeast, passing slightly north of the town of Lerin (Gk Florina) and joins the Crna river in Pelagonija at the Mariovo gorge. From here it continues to the north along the Selečka mountain range and over the Klepa region, joining the Vardar slightly west of the confluence of the Crna and the Vardar rivers. It crosses the Vardar east of the town of Veles and following the left bank of the Vardar, continues to the north, crossing the river Pčinja at Katlanovo, from where it arches toward the northwest and slightly north of Skopje. The villages at the foot of Skopska Crna Gora north of the Aračinovo–Radišani–Bardovci line are not a part of the western dialect complex. The northern border follows approximately the line Skopje–Tetovo–Mt. Šar, where the border circle is enclosed.

The most sharply delineated border between the western and the eastern dialect complexes is in the area between the confluence of the Crna and the Vardar rivers all the way to Skopska Crna Gora. A sharp border is also formed in the northern part in the Skopje region, while in Polog it is somewhat blurred.

The western dialect complex is characterized by two groups of features. On the one hand, several old features are preserved and the number of such features grows the further west one proceeds toward Albanian linguistic territory. The majority of these are morphological in nature. Among the more prominent are the preservation of the old gen-acc form in the function of a *casus generalis*: masc personal names ending on a consonant or on *-o* and *-e*, e.g., *Go vide Stojana*, *Marka*, *Stoleta* '[s/he] saw Stojan, Marko, Stole', kinship terms, *tetina* 'aunt's husband', *tatka* 'father', *čičeta* 'father's brother';

and derived forms ending in *-ko* and *-lo* signifying personal characteristics of an individual, e.g., *Go vikna gr̥bla, mr̥sulka*, '[s/he] called the humpback, snot-nose' (nom *gr̥blo* from *gr̥b* 'back', *mr̥sulko* from *mr̥sul* 'snot'). On a somewhat smaller territory the old dat form of the synthetic declension is preserved for masc personal names, masc kinship terms, and for fem names ending in *-a* and *–i*, e.g., *Mu rekov Stojanu/Iliju/Marku* '[I] told Stojan/Ilija/ Marko', and *Markotu/Marko(ve)e, Marko(v)i, Petretu/Petru/Petre(v)e, Petre(v)i*, fem *Jani/Jane* (nom *Jana*), *tetki* / *tetke* (nom *tetka* 'aunt'). The preservation of article forms in *-v* and *-n* should be considered as a relative archaism, e.g., *lebov* 'this here bread', *lebon* 'that there bread'. On other territories, as we shall see, only the article *-ot* is found. The vocative expressed with an inflected form is also quite well preserved, e.g., *brate/bratu* 'brother!', *zete* 'brother-in-law, son-in-law!', *mažu* 'husband!', *tetko* 'aunt!', *Ratke* 'Ratko!' The dative form is also well preserved with personal pronouns, e.g., *mene mi* 'me', *nemu mu* 'him', *nim/nimi im* 'them', *komu* 'whom', *nekomu* 'to someone', etc. and with demonstrative pronouns, e.g., *ovemu* 'this' masc, *onemu* 'that' masc, *ovejze/ovejzi* 'this' fem, etc. Here, the system of three types of demonstrative pronouns is maintained in parallel with the three types of article morpheme. Concerning verbal inflection, the 3 sg pres ending *-t* is characteristic of this dialect complex, e.g., *imat* 'has', *nosit* 'carries'. The 1 sg pres ending *-m* is not found in the majority of these dialects, e.g., *ja* (*jas*) *kopa, nosa, bera* 'I dig, carry, gather'. The isoglosses of the above-mentioned features follow closely (in places, exactly) the border of the western dialect region, but in the northern region, several of the isoglosses (of the general and dative forms, of three articles) cross the dialectal border.

Several phonetic archaisms are not characteristic for all western dialects: the preservation of the phoneme /ʒ/, the preservation of *č* in the groups **čr̥-*, **črě-*, the final groups *-st, -št*. These appear in a narrow band in the zone bordering Albanian.

The greater part of the characteristic features differentiating the western dialect complex are innovations. Among the most important characteristics are the place of accent both in words and in syntagms. Here, the accent is fixed on the third mora from the end. This is a unique accent model in the Slavic linguistic area, e.g., *plánina – planínata* 'mountain' indef and def, *brátučed – bratúčedi – bratučédite* 'cousin' indef sg pl, and def pl. In such cases as *vodéi̯nca* 'water', *krastái̯ca* 'cucumber' both indef sg, and *volói̯te* 'oxen' pl def, the sequences *ai̯, ei̯, oi̯* although monosyllabic, contain two morae.

In this dialect complex accentual units are formed in many ways. When individual components are not expressly marked, nominal and verbal syntagms in ordinary speech are most often embraced by a single accent, e.g., *ná vrata* 'at the door', *preku-lívada* 'across the meadow', *prekú-den* 'through the day', *bela-kóšula* 'white shirt', *zimski-álišta* 'winter clothing', *gorná-niva* 'upper field', *go-zéde* '[s/he] took it' vs. *ne-gó-zede* '[s/he] did not take it', *ne-ǩe-go-zémeše* '[s/he] would not have taken it', *zošto-mu-gó-dade* 'why did you give it to him'.

On the phonological level, the following are especially important: the absence of the phoneme /x/ and its change to /v, f/ at the end of the syllable, e.g., *gref* 'sin', *mof* 'moss', *bef* 'be' 1 sg impf, *čevli* 'shoes', *evla* 'adder', *bevme*/*befme* 'be' 1 pl impf, and the loss of intervocalic *v* and of other consonants. As a consequence, the distribution of vowels was changed in all of the western dialects. Within the borders of words, new relations between vowels were formed. Numerous sequences containing two similar or dissimilar vowels—in some cases more than two vowels—arose and resulted in various types of diphthongal sequences. Diphthongs with *j̯* as the second component appeared over a wide area /ej̯, aj̯, oj̯, uj̯/, e.g., *lej̯* 'garden beds' *leboj̯* 'loaves of bread', *snaj̯* 'sisters-in-law, daughters-in-law', *muj̯* 'flies'. Sequences with identical vowels were contracted to long sounds, thereby creating new quantity, which is still not phonologically relevant, e.g., *sna:* (< *snaa* 'sister-in-law, daughter-in-law'), *ne:sta* (< *neesta* < *nevesta* 'bride'), *progo:ri* (< *progoori* < *progovori* 'speak up'). Both phenomena contributed to the reduction of the number of syllables in many words. The possibility of forming diphthongs produced shortening in polysyllabic words, as for example: *vodéj̯nca* (< *vodeinca* < *vodenica* 'watermill', with metathesis), *polój̯na* (< *poloina* < *polovina* 'a half'), *surój̯ca* (< *suroica* < *surovica* 'raw log'), or the already-mentioned *ne:sta, progo:ri* (*nevesta, progovori*).

As a result of the general tendency to shorten word forms under a single accent, the loss of vowels in clitics positioned before a word beginning with a vowel spread widely in the western dialects, e.g., *g-ostaj̯* (*go ostavi* '[s/he] left it'), *s-utepa* (*se utepa* '[s/he] hurt herself/himself'), *n-ugore* (*na ugore* 'upwards'), *d-oj̯t* (*da odit* 'let him/her go'), *ušt-ednaš* (*ušte ednaš* 'once more'). These phenomena are restricted only when there is a phonological or semantic reason.

The morphological characteristics relevant for differentiation are most evident in spoken texts: the pl ending *-ovi* with the variant *-oj̯*, e.g., *lebovi* // *leboj̯*; 3 pron *toj* 'he' (*taa* 'she', *toa* 'it', *tie* 'they'); and for verbs, the loss of the auxiliary verb in the 3 perf; the form *se* in the 3 pl pres from *sum* 'to be', and highly developed conjugation with the auxiliary verbs *sum* + *-n/-t*-part, e.g., *sum dojden*, pres of *sum* plus the *-n/-t*-part form; *bev dojden*, impf of *sum* plus the *-n/-t*-part form; *sum bil dojden*, indef past of *sum* plus the *-n/-t*-part form; *bev bil dojden*, pluperfect of *sum* plus the *-n/-t*-part form; *ima* + *-n/-t*-part in the neut, e.g., *imam odeno*, pres of *ima* plus the *-n/-t*-part form; *imav odeno*, impf of *ima* plus the *-n/-t*-part form; *sum imal odeno*, indef past of *ima* plus the *-n/-t*-part form; *bev imal odeno*, pluperfect of *ima* plus the *-n/-t*-part form; as well as forms with the particle *ḱe*, e.g., *ḱe odev*, future in the past; *ḱe sum odel*, indef future in the past; *ḱe bev odel*, indef future in the past; and constructions with *imam*: *ḱe ima(m) odeno*, future of *ima* + the *-n/-t*-part form; *ḱe imav odeno*, future in the past of *ima* + the *-n/-t*-part form; *ḱe sum imal odeno*, indef future in the past of *ima* + the *-n/-t*-part form. By their frequent use and their semantic variety, these constructions give the western dialect complex a distinctive quality in relation to the other Macedonian dialects.

The western Macedonian dialect complex is characterized by a rich repertoire of suffixes with diminutive-hypocoristic meaning. Besides the suffixes *-e, -ce, -ence, -če, -iče, -ička*, which are found in other Macedonian dialects, the suffix *-ule*, along with its derivatives *-ulče, -ulence, -ičule*, is especially productive here, e.g., *bradule* 'little beard', *bradulče, detulence* 'little child', besides *detencule*.

The location of the clitic, especially the pronominal and verbal, in relation to the verb is prominent among the syntactic characteristics important for the differentiation of the dialects in the Macedonian diasystem. In the western dialects, they may be preposed and even be at the beginning of the sentence, which is not the case in most eastern dialects, e.g., *Mu reče Stojanu da go čekat* '[s/he] told Stojan to wait for him', *Se fatija pod raka* '[they] held hands', *Te imam videno* '[I] have seen you', *Sum rekol nešto za tebe* '[I] have said something about you'.

The isoglosses of these and the above-mentioned phenomena move in parallel with the dialect border, and many of them overlap on a wide area, forming a single isogloss bundle. Only a few extend farther to the east and south, as for example the isoglosses of the pl ending *-ovi*, the verbal suffixes, or the preposed use of clitics. These also embrace an area of the southern dialects of the eastern dialect complex. On the other hand, the isoglosses of the antepenultimate accent, the loss of inter-vocalic *v*, the synthetic dative for personal names and kinship terms and personal pronouns, the use of three articles and the loss of some auxiliary verbs, have extended even farther into the northwest dialects.

Several phonetic features developed only in the western dialect complex, among which the most characteristic are: the reflexes of nasal *ǫ and of vocalic *r̥ and *l̥, which contributed greatly to the formation of separate vocalic systems; the presence or absence of the phonemes /f, ʒ, ǯ/; the frequency and realization of the phonemes /ḱ, ǵ/; the realization of the groups *št*, *žd*; the realization of several vowel groups, especially *-ea-*, *-oa-*, *-oe-*. Concerning inflection, the individual local dialects are differentiated mainly by the endings for the 3 pl pres and aor, the formation of participles, the arrangement of verbs according to conjugation classes and some verbal suffixes.

According to these features, two dialect groups are clearly delineated: one central and one peripheral.

9.1.1. In the *central dialects* (Skopje–Veles, Prilep–Bitola, and Kičevo–Poreče) the reflex of *ǫ is *a*, e.g., *raka* 'hand', *pat* 'path'; vocalic *l̥ has been replaced by the sequence *ol* in the greater part of the region, e.g., *volna* 'wool', *dolgo* 'long', *solza* 'tear'; while r̥ has remained vocalic, e.g., *vr̥f* – *vr̥ot* 'peak' indef and def, *vr̥oj* indef pl, *pr̥ot* 'dandruff', *dr̥vo* 'tree'. These dialects have a vocalic system with five members /i, e, u, o, a/ + vocalic /r̥/. The consonantal system has achieved a certain degree of symmetry. The affricates have formed correlations: /c : ʒ/ and /č : ǯ/ and the phonemes /ḱ, ǵ/ are used relatively frequently. There is a tendency to eliminate the correlation of palatalization in dental sonants. In the majority of the local microsystems /l'/ is a marginal phoneme, since it is chiefly found in foreign lexemes, while the old **l'* has hardened and has merged with /l/, e.g., *kluč* 'key', *nedela* 'week', *prijatel* 'friend', but *pel'te* 'jelly', *tel'* 'wire'. Only in some small areas is /f/ not phonemic. The 3 pl pres ending is *-at*, *vikaat* [*vika:t*] 'call', *nosat* 'carry' and the 3 pl aor and impf ending is *-a*, *vikaa* [*vika:*], *nosea*, *dojdoa* '[they] came'.

9.1.2. The *western peripheral dialects* preserve lateral palatalized sonants, e.g., *kl'uč, nedel'a, prijatel'*. The old *ʒ* before pl morphemes is also preserved, e.g., *noʒe*/*noʒi* 'legs', *bubręʒi* 'kidneys', *popraʒi* '(saddle) girth'. The phonemes /ḱ, ǵ/ are rarer: *št* – *žd* and *šč* – *žǯ* appear in place of **tj* in the Mala Reka, Struga and Ohrid dialects. In one narrow band *č* is preserved in the group *čere-*, e.g., *čerevo* 'bowels', *čerepna* 'roof tiles', and more rarely in the group *čăr-*, e.g., *čărvec* 'worm', *čărpit* 'scoop'. On the entire western periphery, the ending *-t* is preserved in the 3 sg in the pres, e.g., *imat* 'have', *nosit* 'carry', and on a larger area the ending *-et* is found for the 3 pl pres, e.g., *imaet* // *imeet* [*ime:t*], *noset* // *noseet* [*nose:t*], etc. and *-e* for the 3 pl in the simple past tenses, e.g., *dojdoe* 'come', *imae* // *imee* 'have'. The replacement of **tj* with *št/šč* has left traces also in the phonetic form of the endings for the verbal adv cf. *vikaešti* 'calling' in the Debar dialect, *vikaešči* in Struga, *vikaeščem* // *vike:ščem* in the town of Ohrid, *vikaeškum* in villages near Ohrid, etc. Nasal **ǫ* and vocalic **r̥* and **l̥*, however, did not develop in the same manner in all local dialects of the western periphery, and their reflexes have contributed much to the dialectal differentiation in this region.

9.1.2.1. In the Gorni Polog, Debar, Struga, Ohrid and Prespa dialects, the reflex of **ǫ* in root morphemes is *ă*, e.g., *zăbi* 'teeth', *măka* 'torment', *răka* 'hand'. Vocalic **l̥* and **r̥* developed in the same direction: **r̥* in these dialects yielded the sequence *ăr*, e.g., *vărba* 'willow', *gărbaf* 'hunchback' adj, *dărvo* 'tree'; **l̥* changed to *ăl*, e.g., *vălk* 'wolf', *pălno* 'full', *sălʒa* 'tear'. Thus, in these dialects a six-vowel system was formed in which the vowel /a/ received a partner correlated for openness. In other dialects there are other differences. For example in the Ohrid dialect, one still encounters forms with /x/ among the older generation. Here the neutralization of *a* and *ă* in non-initial unaccented syllables is especially characteristic, e.g., *mágare* 'donkey' but *magắreto* 'donkey' def. Here and in the Struga dialect the palatal nasal has been depalatalized, e.g., *kojn* 'horse', *polina* 'fields'. In these two dialects there is also a tendency for the anticipation of palatality for the phonemes /ќ, ǵ/, e.g., *kujќa* 'house', *l'ujǵe* 'people'.

9.1.2.2. In the Drimkol–Golo Brdo dialect in the Debar group **ǫ* > *å*, **r̥* > *år*, **l̥* > *ål*, e.g., *råka* 'hand', *pårsti* 'fingers', *sålʒa* 'tear'. The new phoneme /å/, which has a limited distribution, is a correlate of /a/ for roundness.

This same system also formed in a small area of the southeast shore of Lake Prespa (the Prespa **ǫ* > *å* dialect): **ǫ* and **l̥* have the reflex *å*, e.g., *råka*, *såza*, *dågo*, while syllabic**r̥* was maintained, e.g., *pr̥sti*, *sr̥p* 'sickle'.

9.1.2.3. In several villages in the Struga region—the Radožda–Vevčani dialect—**ǫ*, **r̥* and **l̥* developed differently. In root morphemes **ǫ* > *ä̆*, **l̥* > *ä̆l*, **r̥* > *ä̆r* after non-labial consonants and *å*, *ål* and *år* after labials, e.g., *grä̆di* 'breast', *rä̆ka* 'hand', *dä̆rvo* 'tree', *sä̆rce* 'heart', *gä̆ltat* 'swallow' 3 sg pres, but *påt* 'path', *måka* 'tormet', *bårdo* 'hill', *vårba* 'willow', *vålk* 'wolf', *målčit* 'be silent' 3 sg pres. Here we have the richest vocalic system in the western dialect complex.

9.1.2.4. In the Mala Reka–Debar dialect, the reflex of **ǫ* is *o*, while **r̥* and **l̥* remained unchanged, e.g., *roka* 'hand', *pot* 'path', *dr̥vo* 'tree', *pr̥sti* 'fingers', *vl̥k* 'wolf', *vl̥na* 'wolf', *sl̥za* 'tear'. To a certain degree, the Mala Reka dialect also differs from the other western dialects in the area of consonantism: it does not have the voiced affricates *ʒ, ǯ*.

9.1.2.5. Of particular interest for dialectologists is the dialect of the Torbeš (ethnic Macedonian Muslims) in the area of Reka in the Debar region. In the Reka Torbeš dialect **ǫ, *r̥, *l̥*, each have two realizations in root morphemes. In mono- and disyllabic words, in stressed positions **ǫ > å, *r̥ > år, *l̥ > ål*, while in words of three syllables or more and in unstressed positions in mono- and disyllabic words, *ă* appears in place of **ǫ*, and *ăr* and *ăl* in place of **r̥* and **l̥*, e.g., *påt* 'path', *råka* 'hand', *gårp* 'back', *vålk* 'wolf', *vålna* 'wool', but *răkata* 'hand' def, *pătišča* 'path' pl, *dărvoto* 'tree' def, *vălčica* 'she-wolf', *vălneno* 'woolen', or *ná-păt* 'on a path', *ná-gărp* 'on the back', *ná-kălk* 'on the hip' (Žirovnica).

The western dialectal periphery is further divided into several smaller territorial units by these vocalic features. In addition, it should be emphasized that the phoneme /å/, found in several dialects, appears only in the Macedonian-Albanian border zone.

9.2. The *southeast dialect complex* covers a significantly larger territory. It spreads to the east and to the south from the above-mentioned borders, and in the north approaches the Veles–Probištip line, while in the area of Ovče Pole, the border with the northern dialect complex is recessed toward the south almost to Bogoslovec.

In contrast to the western dialect complex, the eastern is less homogenous. A large part of its features, whether they are preserved old forms or innovations, do not form a closed compact whole, as is the case in the western dialects. The old features include: the system of free accent; the phoneme /x/; the pl subst ending *-ove*; in a small area, the pl ending *-e* for masc substantives ending in a soft or a formely soft consonant, e.g., *kone* 'horses', *maže* 'men', *krae* 'regions', *sel'ane* 'peasants'; and the ending *-eta* for neut substantives, e.g., *praseta* 'piglets', *pileta* 'chicks'; a counted pl in *-a* for masc substantives, e.g., *dva, pet, sto leba* 'two, five, one-hundred loaves of bread'; the preservation of the auxiliary verb *sum* in the 3 perf; the use of the perfective pres with iterative meaning; a significantly more archaic conjugation in relation to the western dialect complex taken as a whole; the structure of the syntagm; the location of the pronominal clitics in relation to the verb. Thus, the eastern Macedonian dialects are connected with the Bulgarian border dialects in varying degrees. Here, we have in mind the dialects of Macedonian in Pirin Macedonia.

Many of the innovations characteristic for the eastern Macedonian dialects are also found in the Bulgarian dialects. For example: the prothetic sound *v* before the reflex of the initial **ǫ*, e.g., *vaglen* – *văglen* 'coal'; the appearance of a secondary vowel in the groups, *cv-*, *sv-*, e.g., *cafte* – *cafti* 'flower', *samne* – *savne* 'dawn'; the change of **ě* to *a* after *c*, *cal* 'whole', *cadilo* 'strainer', *cana* 'price'; the merging of the general and nom form for personal names and kinship terms; the analytic expression of the dat for personal pronouns, e.g., *na mene mi reče* '[s/he] told me'; the loss of article morphemes in *-v* and *-n*; and other features shared in common with the eastern Macedonian dialects, which at the same time serve to differentiate them from the western ones. There is no single well-formed focus of innovation on this Macedonian area. The majority of these features also cover wide areas of the Bulgarian diasystem and a part of them cross the northern border between Macedonian and the Timok–South Morava dialect or even spread further to the eastern Serbian dialects.

One may clearly differentiate five smaller separate dialectal areas in the southeastern dialect complex.

9.2.1. A larger area of the southeastern dialect complex is made up by the Štip–Strumica dialects, which cover the central area from Belasica to the border with the northern dialect complex in the north. The distinguishing characteristic of these dialects is free paradigmatic stress, e.g., *žéna* 'woman' – *žéni* 'women' – *žénata* 'woman' sg def – *žénite* 'women' pl def, *béram* 1 sg, *béreš* 2 sg, *bére* 3 sg, *béreme* 1 pl, *bérete* 2 pl, *bérat* 3 pl all pres of 'gather'. Nasal **ǫ* here has been replaced by *a* in all positions in the word, e.g., *maka* 'torment', *raka* 'hand', which connects it with the central area of the western dialect complex, as does vocalic *r̥*. But these dialects also have the phoneme /ă/, which is the reflex of **l̥*, e.g., *găta* 'swallow' vb 3 sg pres, *săza* 'tear', and in places on the periphery also *ăl*, *sălza* 'tear'. Regarding inflection, these dialects are characterized by the ending *-m* in the the 1 sg pres for all verbs, *vikam* 'call', *beram* 'gather', *nosam* 'carry', and the merging of the *i*-group verbs with *e*-group verbs, e.g., *bereš* – *noseš*, *bere* – *nose*.

9.2.2. Closest to the Štip–Strumica dialects are the Tikveš–Mariovo dialects. These two groups are united by the reflex of nasal **ǫ* and vocalic **l̥* and **r̥*, e.g., *raka* 'hand', *săza* 'tear', *pr̥sti* 'fingers'. The Tikveš–Mariovo dialects, however, have developed a different accentual system. In paradigms, the final syllable can not receive the stress. With the shift of the accent from the ultimate to the penultimate, a sub-system of mobile stress developed, which covered all disyllabic words ending in a closed syllable, e.g., *dŕ̥var – dr̥vári* 'woodcutter', *élen – eléni* 'deer', *déver – devéri* 'husband's brother', all sg – pl, *zélen – zeléna* 'green', *ímal – imála* 'have', *nósen – noséna* 'carry' part, all masc – fem. The stress tends to become fixed on the penultimate syllable. This model of accentuation coexists with the paradigmatic accent for disyllabic and polysyllabic words ending in a vowel, that is, open syllables, and for pres forms of verbs, e.g., *ístina – ístinata* 'truth' indef and def, *sábota* 'Saturday', and the pres forms *víkam – víkame – víkate* 'call' 1 sg, 1 pl, 2 pl. In this region, the integration of verbs from the old *e*- and *i*-groups was accomplished differently from the Štip–Strumica dialects. A mixed conjugation type formed, e.g., *beriš – nosiš* 2 sg, *berime – nosime* 1 pl, *berite – nosite* 2 pl, and *bere – nose* 'gather, carry' 3 sg.

9.2.3. The Maleševo–Pirin dialects, which cover the area along the border with Bulgarian linguistic territory have the reflex of nasal **ǫ* and **l̥* in common with the Štip–Strumica dialects, e.g., *raka, săza*. They too have vocalic **r̥* , e.g., *dr̥vo, pr̥sti.* In these dialects, there are two models of accentuation—the paradigmatic, *bába – bábata – bábi – bábite* 'grandmother', sg indef, sg def and pl indef, pl def, and for verbs *víkam – víkame – víkate* 'call' 1 sg and 1, 2 pl, and the mobile. There are several types of mobile stress: a) *žená – ženáta – ženíte* vs. *žéni* sg indef, sg def, pl def, pl indef, *rebró – rebróto – rebráta* vs. *rébra* sg indef, sg def, pl def, pl indef, b) *bráda – brádi* vs. *bradáta – bradíte* sg pl indef, sg pl def, *văk – văci* vs. *văkó* vs. *văcíte* sg pl indef, sg pl def, *dar – dárove* vs. *daró – darovéto* sg pl indef, sg pl def, for verbs *jáda* vs. *jadéš – jadéme* 'eat' 3 sg, 2 sg, 1 pl etc. The Maleševo–Pirin dialects are more archaic than the Štip–Strumica dialects. Old pl endings in *-e* are preserved in the nominal declension for masc substantives, e.g., *koné, dr̥varé, prijátele,* and *-eta* for neut substantives, *telé – teléta* 'calf' sg – pl, *praséta* 'piglets'. Old morpheme distinctions for *e*- and *i*-group verbs are preserved, e.g., *béra – beréš, nósa – nósiš* 3 sg 2 sg. In phonology, these dialects preserve the phoneme /x/, but with limited distribution; the consonantal group *vn* has remained unchanged, e.g., *ravno* 'flat'; *št, žd* predominate in place of **tj* and **dj*, *kašta* 'house', *gašti* 'pants', *veždi* 'eyebrows', *saždi* 'soot', and *kašča, vežǯi*', in several local dialects. The change of *o* to *e* in plural morphemes for masc forms after the once-soft consonants is also an old phenomenon, e.g., *kon – kóne, maš – máže, drvár – drváre.* Palatality of final *-t'* (< **-tь*) has been strengthened in examples of the type *zeḱ* 'son-in-law', *paḱ* 'path'. The palatalization of *k, g* before front vowels and of *k* after palatal consonants is an innovation, e.g., *raḱija* 'brandy', *májḱa/máḱa* 'mother', *sukál'ḱa* 'rolling pin'.

9.2.4. A larger unit in the eastern dialect complex is formed by the southern dialects, located along the Kajlar (Gk Ptolemais)–Voden (Gk Edessa)–Pazar (Gk Giannitsa)–Solun–Serez (Gk Serrai)–Drama–Goce Delčev (Bg Nevrokop) line and in the north to the Belasica and Kožuf ranges all the way to the Vardar river valley near Demir Kapija. The reflex of nasal **ǫ* is *ă*, e.g., *răka, păt*, and the vowels **r̥*, **l̥* developed to *ăr – ră* and *ăl – lă*, e.g., *prăsti, sărce, vălna, slănce*. These dialects separated quite early from the central zone of Macedonian. Today, the most characteristic features of the southern dialects are the reduction of unaccented vowels, which appeared early in the medieval period (thirteenth century), and elision, which, as the final result of vowel reduction, was caused by, among other factors, the tempo of speech. In unaccented syllables, the low vowels /a, e, o/ in these dialects have higher (reduced) allophones [ạ, ẹ, ọ], which in the majority of local dialects, merge completely with corresponding high phonemes: /e/ > /i/, /o/ > /u/, /a/ > /ă/, e.g., *elén > ilén* 'deer', *pekól > pikól* 'hell', *gúšter > gúštir* 'lizard', *golém > gulém* 'large', *bogát > bugát* 'rich', *čovék > čuvék* 'man', *razbój > răzbój* 'loom', *rabóta > răbóta* 'work, thing'. In specific positions in the word (most often before article morphemes), the reduced vowels are lost completely, e.g., *pól'to/pól'tu* (< *poleto*) 'field', *détto (deteto)* 'child', *nífta* (*nivata*) 'field', *žénta* (*ženata*) 'woman', *răbótta* (*rabotata*). In many cases, the structure of the word was also altered as a result of this change. In numerous local dialects polysyllabic words are shortened, where phonological and semantic conditions allow.

As in the western and southwestern dialects in direct contact with Greek and Aromanian, more Balkan innovations appeared, and as a result, these dialects separated even further from the central group of the eastern dialect complex. The difference between the masc and the neut gender for adjectives and pronouns is often neutralized in this area. In conjugation, forms with *ima/nema* and with *sum* + *-n/-t*-part are common. The so-called *na*-direct object for personal and all animate nouns is presently in the process of formation, e.g., *Gú vidé na détto* '[s/he] saw the child'. The lexicon of these dialects is replete with Hellenisms and Turkisms. Greek influence is particularly noticeable in the so-called functional lexicon and grammatical words. On the other hand, many lexemes of Slavic origin which are not found in the dialects to the north are preserved here. In specific areas in this region there are numerous examples of nasality preserved, e.g., *mănč* (= *maž*) ‘man’, *grăndi* (= *gradi*) ‘breast, chest’, *grenda* ‘beam’, *čendo* ‘child’ in the Suho–Visoka dialect.

According to accent, these dialects can be divided into two sub-groups: Solun–Voden or the Lower Vardar and the Serez–Lagadina (Gk Lankadas) dialects.

9.2.4.1. The Solun–Voden (Lower Vardar) sub-group has paradigmatic stress, which is a continuation of that of the Štip–Strumica dialects, e.g., *ufčár – ufčári – ufčárite* ‘shepherd’. In addition, these dialects have a specific way of forming some verb forms, e.g., the 2 pl imp ending *-ejte*, *biréjte* ‘choose!’, *nuséjte* ‘carry’, the verbal adv with *-ščimica*, e.g., *begaščimica* ‘running’. The process of the syncretism of verbal conjugations, which began in the Tikveš–Mariovo dialects, continued here and included *a*-group verbs. The result was a single common conjugation model, e.g., *víkum*, *bérum*, *nósum – víkiš*, *bériš*, *nósiš – víke*, *bére*, *nóse* ‘call, gather, carry’.

9.2.4.2. In the Serez–Lagadina dialects, which also includes the Drama dialect and the Goce Delčev (Nevrokop) dialect in Pirin Macedonia, mobile stress is still found, although in a version somewhat simpler than that of the Maleševo–Pirin dialects, e.g., *žéna – žéni* vs. *ženáta – ženíte*, as well as *bráda – brádi* vs. *bradáta – bradíte*, etc. Here there is also secondary stress on the penultimate syllable, e.g., *cáricàta* ‘queen’, *lóbudàta* ‘orach, mountain spinach’, *glásuvètu* ‘sounds, voices’. These dialects share some features with the neighboring Rhodopian Bulgarian dialects, e.g., the replacement of **ě* with *a*, in someplaces with *ä*, which palatalizes the preceding consonant, e.g., *br’ak* ‘shore’, *d’al* ‘part’, *s’anka* ‘shade’. The back *jer* *ъ yields *ă* in root morphemes across the entire territory, but in affix morphemes only in the most easterly regions, e.g., *săn* ‘sleep, dream’, *dăš* ‘rain’. The consonantal system of these dialects is especially rich, since palatalization is maintained, and in some instances new palatalization is also found, so that all “hard” consonants have a palatalized correlate. The phoneme /x/ is also well preserved in these dialects, while /ḱ/ and /ǵ/ are marginal phonemes. In the Suho–Visoka dialect *jat’* is preserved as *ä* in accented syllables, e.g., *sn’äk* ‘snow’, *b’äl* ‘white’, *m’ästo* ‘place’, *r’äka* ‘river’. Here there are many examples of preserved nasals. In the Visoka dialect, the vowel **y* did not merge with **i* and has a specific reflex *ă* in all positions, e.g., *băk* 'bull', *băl* 'was', *răba* 'fish', *săn* 'son'. In all dialects in this group there are lexical archaisms, while at the same time their lexicons have been enriched with Hellenisms and Turkisms.

9.2.5. The Kostur–Korča dialects are quite distinct in the southeastern dialect complex. According to stress, they belong with the Lerin dialect, and with the Tikveš–Mariovo group but the tendency to stabilize stress on the penultimate syllable is more developed.

Several groups of features are interwoven in the Kostur region. Here too a large number of archaic features are preserved, e.g., remnants of nasality, e.g., *grăndi* 'breast', *zămbi* 'teeth', *dămbja* 'oaks'. The basic reflexes of **tj* and **dj* are the consonantal sequences *šč* and *žǯ* or simply *ž*, e.g., *sfešča* 'candle', *lešča* 'lentils', *meža* 'boundary', *saži* 'soot', *čužo* 'foreign' adv. Examples with *ḱ*, *ǵ* in place of **tj* and **dj* are rare, in the southern band and in the Korča region they are almost completely absent. In the Korča region, *ă* in place of **ę* and **ě* in accented position is still preserved, e.g., *br*^{j}*ắk* 'shore', *p*^{j}*ắna* 'foam', *čov*^{j}*ắko* 'person' def, *č́*^{j}*ắndo* 'child', *gr*^{j}*ắnda* 'beam'. In inflection, there are still many archaic features, e.g., the synthetic dative in both the sg and pl of substantives and remnants of the declension of articles, e.g., *čovekatógo*, *čovekutómu*, the form *soj* which continues the root **sь*, and others.

Newer Balkanisms are especially prevalent in this border zone: the loss of the preposition *vo*; the use of the preposition *na* to express direct and indirect objects, e.g., *Go víde na čóveko* '[s/he] saw the man', *Mu réče na čóveko* 'He told the man'. Pronominal clitics, having taken over the grammatical function of marking the object, in many instances have lost markers for the categories of gender and number, e.g., *Mu réče na čóveko* '[s/he] told the man', *Mu víkna na žénata* '[s/he] called to the woman', *Mu se nal'úti na décite* '[s/he] became angry at the children'. Verbal inflection has been completely Balkanized, so along with the loss of the *l*-participle, compound forms formed with it have also been lost (perfect, pluperfect, potential, etc.) and their functions have been taken over by forms with *ima/nema* and with *sum* + *-n/-t* forms, while the modal meanings are expressed by forms with *ḱe*.

The entire Kostur–Korča region is characterized by several innovations that are characteristic only of this territory. Among those which are most characteristic are: nominal forms in *-tje* of the type *ženétje* 'marriage nuptials' *klanátje* 'greeting'; the pl ending *-nišča* for neut substantives, *morjeníšča* 'seas', *poleníšča* 'fields'; in verbal inflection, the suffixes *-v-* and *-iv-* used to form imperfective verbs from perfective, e.g., *kupva/kupvi* 'buy', *zaódvi* 'go down, get', *naóžva/naóžvi* 'find', *zaboravíva* 'forget', *ozdravíva* 'get well', and others.

There are several smaller dialect groups in this region distinguished according to the reflexes of **ǫ* ,**r̥* and **l̥*.

9.2.5.1. Due to its archaisms and Balkanisms, the Korča dialect—represented by just two villages, Boboštica and Drenoveni—is distinct from the neighboring dialects. The reflex **ǫ* is *a* or a sequence with a nasal, *an* and *am*, the latter before dental and labial consonants respectively, e.g., *raka*, *zambi*, *grandi*; **r̥* gives *ar*, e.g., *varba*, *parsti*; **l̥* gives *al*, e.g., *valna*, *salza*. Among the more important innovations are: the replacement of /x/ with *j* at the end of the syllable, e.g., *prájci* 'piglets', *rékoj* 'say' 1 sg aor, *rekójme* 'say' 1 pl aor, and stress fixed on the penultimate syllable, the final result of the tendency begun in the Kostur–Tikveš region, e.g., *žéna – ženáta* 'wife' indef def, *planináta* 'mountain' def, *rékoj – rekójme*, and in the syntagms *majká-mi* 'my mother', *sín-ti* 'your son' vs. *sinóvi* 'sons' indef, *sinovití-mi* 'my sons'.

9.2.5.2. In a large area of the Kostur region **ǫ* and vocalic **r̥* and **l̥* give the reflexes found in other southern dialects — *ă* or *ăn*/*ăm*, *ăr*, *ăl*, e.g., *răka* 'hand', *grăndi* 'breast', *zămbi* 'teeth', *părsti* 'fingers', *vălna* 'wool'.

In the northern part of the Kostur region, on the zone bordering the central dialect complex, there is a narrow belt with stress on the first syllable, a particular characteristic of this region, e.g., *pláninata* 'mountain' def sg, *móstovite* 'bridges' def pl and in the accentual unit, *víknete-go* 'call him' (the village Oščima).

9.2.5.3. In the most southern part of the Kostur dialect area, in the Kostenarija region and in a part of the Nestram region, nasal **ǫ* is reflected as *ån* and *åm*, e.g., *råka* 'hand', *gråndi* 'breast', *zåmbi* 'teeth', and **r̥* has developed into the sequence of two phonemes /er/, which is realized as [ɛr], e.g., *gɛrne* 'pot, jug', *zɛrno* 'grain', *sɛrce* 'heart'.

If one takes into account the degree of archaisms, the Hellenisms in the lexicon, and Balkanisms in general, then this dialect can be described as being *the most extreme* in these features. Here the phoneme /x/ is also preserved and there are numerous lexemes with the lexicalized reduction of /o/ to /u/, more rarely also of /e/ to /i/.

9.3. The northern dialects, which cover the zone bordering Serbian linguistic territory, comprise the third group of Macedonian dialects. Its southern border follows approximately the Tetovo–Skopje–Sveti Nikole (slightly to the south)–Probištip line. A large number of isoglosses of phenomena whose focus of innovation are located on Serbian territory, as well as features originating on Macedonian linguistic area, intersect in this area. In the northern part of the region, the southern isoglosses of Serbian linguistic territory come to an end: the isogloss of the reflex *lu* for vocalic *l̥ after dentals, e.g., *dlugo* 'long', *sluza* 'tear', *tluče* 'crush, mash'; the palatal /lj/, e.g., *polje* 'field', *zelje* 'spinach, orach', *iljada* 'thousand'; the ending *-u* for the *casus generalis* form for substantives ending in *-a*, e.g., *ženu* 'woman', *ńivu* 'field'; the ending *-(o/e)ga* in the pronominal-adjectival paradigm, e.g., *toga* 'this', *ńega* 'him', *săs dobroga końa* 'with a good horse'; the pl ending *-e* for nouns ending in *-a*, e.g., *kuḱe*, 'houses', *ubave ńive* 'beautiful field'; the ending *-mo* for verbs in the 1 pl pres, e.g., *imamo* 'have', the ending *-v* in the 3 pl pres, e.g., *oni imav* 'they have', and the ending *-še* in 3 pl aor, e.g., *rekoše* 'say', etc. The isogloss of the reflex /ă/ for *ъ and *ь runs slightly south of the border described above, e.g., *dăš* 'rain', *dăn* 'day', as does the isogloss of the reflex /u/ for nasal *ǫ, *zubi* 'teeth', *ruka* 'hand'; and *u* in place of vocalic*l̥, e.g., *vuk* 'wolf', *žuto* 'yellow', *kuk* 'hip', and others. The northern dialects, therefore, are typical transitional dialects.

To a large degree, the internal differentiation of these dialects was conditioned by the two adjacent Macedonian dialect complexes.

In the eastern part of the northern dialects (in Kumanovo, Kratovo, Kriva Palanka), the presence of eastern Macedonian features is more obvious. The northeastern dialects are also closer to the eastern dialect complex in the features of paradigmatic accent, a single article morpheme *-ăt*, the double forms of the preposition *so/săs*, the use of pronominal clitics in post-verbal position, etc.

In the western part of the northern dialects (in Skopska Crna Gora, and in Vratnica–Polog dialect) the stress follows the western Macedonian pattern, i.e., it is fixed. In these dialects, intervocalic *v* is lost, the auxiliary verb in the 3 perfect is not used, and three articles are present. The sentence may begin with a short pronominal form, e.g., *Gu vide ženutu* '[s/he] saw the woman', *Ga fana petălăt* '[s/he] grabbed the rooster'.

In Polog, the number of western Macedonian features is even greater, especially in the belt around the city of Tetovo.

10. The process of the differentiation of Macedonian can be traced as far back as the eleventh century. It began concurrently with the appearance of the first innovations. Only two relatively small areas remained unaffected by the dephonologization of the jers (*ъ, *ь) and the replacement of strong jers *ъ and *ь with *o* and *e*: the northern border zone and the extreme southeast towards Bulgarian linguistic territory. It was here that the formation of transitional dialect belts between Macedonian and Bulgarian in the east, and Macedonian and Serbian in the north began. Later, other features arose in these belts. Innovations from the north and south entered and intersected here, while isoglosses of phenomena originating in the Bulgarian source of innovations weaved through the eastern border zone. In the east, however, features formed on the Macedonian area extended into some western Bulgarian dialects, e.g., the reflex *o* for *ъ in specific morphemes, or the reflex *a* for *ǫ, the replacement of *ě with *e*, the dispalatalization of consonants, etc.

As a result of the loss of the jers, two innovations arose concurrently inside Macedonian territory. After the loss of the weak jer *ъ(ь) in the groups **svь-*, **ʒvь-*, in the western part of the Macedonian area the sonant *v*, at this time certainly still bilabial, changed into *u*, while in the eastern dialects, a secondary vowel developed in the consonantal groups *cv* and *sv* which were difficult to pronounce. In this way, two reflexes came about: *cu-*, *su-*, e.g., *cutit* 'blossom, flower' 3 sg pres, *osunit* 'dawn' 3 sg pres in the west and *cav-*, *sav-*, e.g., *cati* – *cavte*, *osavne* – *osamne* in the east. These are certainly among the oldest features of differentiation on Macedonian territory.

In the twelfth to thirteenth centuries a major series of changes in phonology and inflection arose in the Macedonian area. Among the phonetic changes which had the greatest influence on the dialectal differentiation of Macedonian is, without a doubt, the denasalisation of *ǫ and *ę. The latter merged with *ě (*jat'*), which is a characteristic of Macedonian not shared with Bulgarian, and the reflex of the vowel *ǫ in different regions of Macedonia territory varied. Either it maintained its schwa-like pronunciation for a longer period—/ă/ *răka,* and *rănka* 'hand', with a nasal coloring (in Suho–Visoka and Kostur)—or *ǫ merged with one of the other vowels in the system: /a/, *raka*, on a large part of the central area of Macedonian; /o/, *roka*, in Mala Reka; /u/, *ruka* in the northern dialects. Alternatively, it developed further and yielded new values: /å/ (open *o*) with a labialized quality, but with a distinct degree of openness, e.g., *råka* in Drimkol–Golo Brdo and elsewhere in the western periphery as mentioned earlier; /ä/ (open *e*) which is less open than /a/, but because the vocalic system of this dialect does not have another front open vowel, the reduced openness is redundant. With the new vowels, three new correlations were formed: /a – å/ in some dialects, /a – ä/ in others, and /a – ă/ in the dialects that maintained a schwa-like pronunciation. As a final result, in place of the vowel *ǫ on Macedonian territory, nine different reflexes developed: /ă/, /ăn – ăm/, /a/, /an – am/, /å/, /ån – åm/, /ä/, /o/, /u/.

There are two other phenomena relevant to the dialectal differentiation in connection with nasal *ǫ. First, two prothetic sounds developed before the initial *ǫ: *j* in the western part, e.g., *jaglen* 'coal', and *v* in the eastern, e.g., *vaglen – văglen*. Second, there are traces of mixing of nasals in the western dialects, **ję* > **jǫ*, e.g., *jăzik, jazik, jozik, jäzik* 'language, tongue', while in the eastern dialect complex, *(j)e* developed in place of the sequence **ję*, e.g., *(j)ezik, (j)etr̥tva* 'sister-in-law', etc.

Prior to the twelfth century, there occurred yet another series of changes in Macedonian, both phonetic and morphological, which left visible traces also on its dialectal differentiation. Insofar as the vocalism is concerned, the reflexes of vocalic **l̥* and **r̥* contributed greatly to the differentiation of the dialects. In most dialects the vocalic component of the reflexes of **l̥*, **r̥* coincided with the reflex of *ǫ, so that the frequency of new vocalic phonemes grew. In texts from this period, one also finds examples of the reduction of unaccented vowels—an important innovation which furthered dialectal differentiation, especially in the southern part of the Macedonian diasystem. The main characteristics of the accentual systems were also probably formed during this period. In consonantism, the process of the dephonologization of the palatalized sonants and the loss of the palatalization as a distinctive feature began. Also worth noting is the tendency to differentiate the endings *-ove* and *-ovi* in the western dialects, the former predominately as a dat ending and the latter as the pl ending, e.g., the contemporary Debar dialect *tatko(v)e* 'father' dat and *sinovi* 'sons' pl. For verbs, innovations included the ending *-me* in 1 pl and *-le* in the pl of the active participle, e.g., *bile* 'were' (cf. *bili* in the eastern dialects). The ending *-t* began to be dropped in the 3 sg.

So, by the end of the thirteenth century, the basic dialectal groups of Macedonian had already been established. Later innovations only served to reinforce the differentiation of the dialects within the framework of the territorial units that had already been formed.

In the fourteenth century, as we have already pointed out, Serbian influence intensified due to the growth of the Serbian state and the relocation of its center to the south, and as a result the phonemes /ḱ, ǵ/ spread.

The process of dialectal differentiation strengthened further after the fourteenth century, when the dephonologization of /x/ and the loss of a series of consonants in intervocalic position—among them *v*—began in the western and in the northern dialects. Consequently, new relations between vowels developed and as a result, a series of diphthong sequences and phonetically long vowels appeared. Here one should emphasize that these new processes were stronger in the western dialect complex and in some of the southwestern dialects.

Thus, the western dialects acquired new specific features and were further separated from the eastern dialect complex, but at the same time within the western dialect complex itself, a greater degree of differentiation arose among the local dialects themselves.

11. Based on the material presented so far, one may draw the following conclusions:

- The dialects of Macedonian are quite well preserved. They are best preserved in Greece and in the Macedonian settlements in Albania, where standard Macedonian does not function widely. In the post-war period, especially in the last two decades, under the influence of the literary norm one can note a tangible process of unification in the larger centers in the Republic of Macedonia. To a large degree, the generation educated in Macedonian schools knows the literary standard well, although native dialects still influence syntax and lexicon.
- The greatest dialectal differentiation is found in the southern and western peripheries, in the zone bordering the Albanian, Greek and Aromanian languages. In the zone bordering Serbian, numerous dialectal features have extended significantly into the Macedonian linguistic area and have formed a band of transition dialects. The transition between Macedonian and Bulgarian is noticeably less abrupt in comparison to the northern border.
- The process of dialectal differentiation in Macedonian began already with the first innovations, which are recorded from beginning in the eleventh century. The basic contours of the contemporary Macedonian dialects were visible by the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century. The evolution of many processes, begun in the distant past, continued later, and some are on-going, still not completed.
- Non-Slavic Balkan languages, and to a lesser degree Serbian, have contributed greatly to the dialectal differentiation of the Macedonian dialects. The greatest dialectal differentiation has taken place on areas with mixed populations—Macedonian and non-Macedonian, in western and southern Macedonia, where there is the greatest degree of in-

terference, since the inhabitants of these regions are bilingual, and occasionally trilingual.

- Stress has left the most prominent traces on the differentiation of Macedonian. A series of dialectal phenomena in the area of vocalism are dependent on the place of stress, e.g., the reduction of low vowels in the southern dialects, the change of *a* to *ä* or *e*, also in the southern and in the southeastern dialects, the realization of jat as *ä* in Korča, Suho–Visoka, Goce Delčev and Razlog dialects. In the Ohrid and Polog dialects there is a difference in the realization of *a* depending on the location of the stress. In these dialects in the accented non-initial syllable /a/ is neutralized in pronunciation with the phoneme /ă/. In most dialects (Prilep, Debar, Nestram, Serez–Lagadina) the vowels /e/ and /o/ under stress have high allophones [ẹ, ọ] and in other dialects the vowel /ă/ is pronounced more openly in unaccented positions, i.e., [ạ], as in the northern and the Serez–Lagadina dialects. Most probably, stress contributed also to the dual reflexes of *ǫ in the westernmost dialects, e.g., *răka* 'hand', *păt* 'path' but *obrač* 'ring', *poprag, želad* 'acorn'. In the Reka Torbeš dialect, there are two realizations of the reflexes of *ǫ and vocalic *r̥ and *l̥, e.g., *påt* 'path' indef, *påtot* def, but *ná-pạt* 'on the road', *sånce* 'sun' but *ná-sạnce* 'in the sun', *vårba* 'willow' but *ná-vạrba* 'in the willow'.

The vocalic systems of the Macedonian dialects depend to a certain extent also on the consonantal environment. The change of *a* to *ä, e* occurred under the influence of palatalized consonants in the southeastern and several southern dialects, e.g., in Korča and to a limited degree also in Kostur. In the Vevčani (Struga) dialect, after labials, nasal *ǫ and vocalic *r̥, *l̥, give labialized *å*, as we have seen. After the loss of the consonants *x, v, j*—and others to a limited degree—in intervocalic position, new sequences of vowels were formed in the western dialect complex, then there appeared a whole series of diphthongs *ei̯, ai̯, oi̯, ui̯ –i̯a, i̯e, i̯o,* e^a, o^a, a^e, *u̯a, u̯e*, new phonetic length appeared /u:, e:, a:, o:/, changes occurred in the structure of the syllable, and finally words were shortened, e.g., *vodenica > vodeinca > vodei̯nca* 'watermill', *polovina > poloina > poloi̯na* 'half', *nevesta > neesta > ne:sta > nesta* 'bride', *progovori > progoori > progo:ri > progori* 'speak up'. The influence of vowels on consonants is quite limited. Front vowels contributed marginally to palatalization, e.g., *rakija* vs. *rak'ija/rak̆ija*, *lagi* vs. *lag'i*/*laǵi*, and also to the neutralization of *l* and *l'*. In the Serres-Lagadina dialect before front vowels all hard consonants are palatalized to a slight degree.

- In the phonological systems of the dialects of Macedonian, the differentiation is much greater for vowels than for consonants. Those systems of vowels located on the linguistic periphery are richer, especially in the south where they are in contact with non-Slavic languages. In these systems, the number of vowels varies from six to eight. The most frequent changes occur among open vowels, e.g., reduction in the southern dialects.

  The differences in the dialectal vocalism are quite old. As mentioned above, nasal *ǫ and vocalic *r̥, *l̥ caused the greatest changes in the inventory of vocalic phonemes. In place of *ǫ there is a series of reflexes: *u*, *o*, *a*, *å*, *ă*, *ä*, *ån* – *åm*, *ăn* – *ăm*. Similarly, for vocalic *l̥ there is *l̥*, *ăl*, *lă*, *lu*, *al*, *äl*, *ål*, *ol*, *u*, *å*, *ă*.

  Consonantism is relatively more resistant. The changes in the sonants were mainly oriented to the elimination of palatality and this process continues in most dialects. For obstruents, most changes have occurred among affricates and velars. For affricates, there is a tendency to bring symmetry to the pattern of consonants (with *ǯ* and new *ʒ*, in some places also the palatal pair *ḱ* – *ǵ*), and for velars, to simplify the system (loss of *x*). The pattern of labial obstruents is also not completely symmetrical, since in some dialects the fricative *f* is not phonologically stable.

- The grammar of the dialects is somewhat more unified than the phonology. In nominal inflection, the Macedonian dialects are differentiated primarily according to the forms for expressing the category of definiteness, according to forms for the object, according to some grammatical morphemes, and in most cases, according to morphonological phenomena. Accentual alternations are also preserved in a part of the eastern Macedonian dialects. Pronouns show more differentiation. Differences exist in the inventory of forms and of separate systems, for example, for demonstrative pronouns, and in the morphology of personal pronouns.

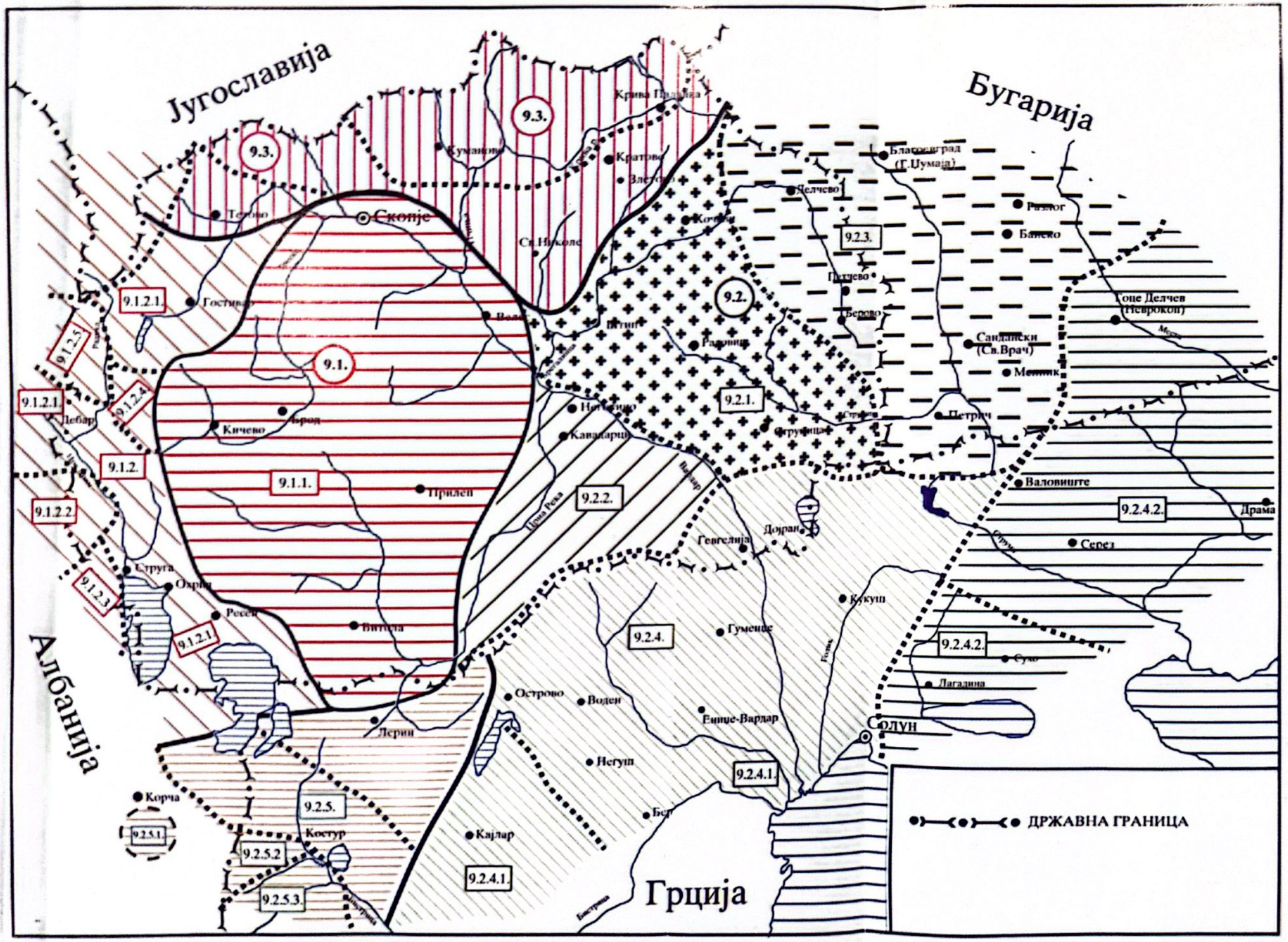
  In verbal inflection we find greater variety in the grammatical morphemes, in the inventory of forms, in the distribution of old and new verbal forms, especially in analytic constructions and forms.

A major part of the differences in inflection is due to the phonetic changes which also affected the inflectional morphemes. How the morpheme structure in the separate dialects could change because of phonetic processes is most clearly illustrated by the endings for the 1 sg and pl in all persons in the aor and impf. In the dialects where /x/ was lost or changed into another phoneme, the phonemic composition of the morpheme also changed as a result. Therefore, in the Macedonian dialects, one encounters the following 1 sg forms of *reče* 'say': *rekoh*, *reko*, *reku*, *rekof*, *rekok*, *reok*, according to the replacement of /x/ with *ø*, *v*/*f*, *j*, *k*. The process did not end here, however. Because of the emergence of new inflectional homonymy, chain changes were triggered, in which other grammatical factors were included.

Analogy played an important role in verbal inflection, as well as in grammar in general. Many changes were created in a series of dialects because of analogy.

- Macedonian sustained important changes in the lexicon as well as in word formation. The lexicon of the dialects was especially apt to change and differentiation under the influence of the Balkan languages, primarily Greek, but also Turkish. Some of the innovations covered the entire Macedonian linguistic area, but many of them remained on the level of local micro-dialects and became characteristic for them. Foreign lexemes were amassed in the southern dialects and to a lesser degree in the western. In these dialects, on the other hand, Slavic lexical elements, lost in other parts of the Macedonian territory, were preserved.

The situation is similar for word formation. Several suffixes of foreign origin became dialectal features in many dialects, e.g., *-ule* and its derivatives.


Југославија
Бугарија
Албанија
Грција
9.1.
9.1.1.
9.1.2.
9.1.2.1.
9.1.2.2.
9.1.2.3
9.1.2.4
9.1.2.5
9.2.
9.2.1.
9.2.2.
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9.2.4.
9.2.4.1.
9.2.4.2.
9.2.5.
9.2.5.1.
9.2.5.2
9.2.5.3.
9.3.
Скопје
Тетово
Куманово
Крива Паланка
Кратово
Злетово
Кочани
Св. Николе
Гостивар
Велес
Штип
Радовиш
Неготино
Кавадарци
Струмица
Дебар
Кичево
Брод
Прилеп
Битола
Струга
Охрид
Ресен
Лерин
Острово
Воден
Негуш
Кајлар
Бер
Корча
Костур
Гевгелија
Дојран
Гумендже
Кукуш
Енидже-Вардар
Солун
Лагадина
Сухо
Серез
Драма
Валовиште
Петрич
Мелник
Сандански
(Св.Врач)
Гоце Делчев
(Неврокоп)
Разлог
Банско
Благоевград
(Г.Џумаја)
Делчево
Пехчево
Берово
Црна Река
Вардар
Брегалница
Места
Струма
Галик
Бистрица
Радика
ДРЖАВНА ГРАНИЦА

Map 1. The Dialects of Macedonian

Legend

- 9.1. The western Macedonian dialect complex
  - 9.1.1. Central dialects
  - 9.1.2. Western peripheral dialects
    - 9.1.2.1. Gorni Polog, Debar, Struga, Ohrid and Prespa dialects
    - 9.1.2.2. Drimkol–Golo Brdo dialect
    - 9.1.2.3. Radožda–Vevčeni dialect
    - 9.1.2.4. Mala Reka dialect
    - 9.1.2.5. Reka dialect

- 9.2. The southeast dialect complex
  - 9.2.1. Štip–Strumica dialects
  - 9.2.2. Tikveš–Mariovo dialects
  - 9.2.3. Maleševo–Pirin dialects
  - 9.2.4. Southern dialects
    - 9.2.4.1. Solun–Voden (Lower Vardar) dialects
    - 9.2.4.2 Serez–Lagadina dialects
  - 9.2.5. Kostur–Korča dialects
    - 9.2.5.1. Korča dialect
    - 9.2.5.2. Kostur dialect
    - 9.2.5.3. Nestram–Kostenarija dialect

- 9.3.The northern dialects

The Formation of the Dialects of Macedonian*

1. Macedonian belongs to that group of Slavic languages having a large variety of dialects. Virtually every geographic region, every town and its immediate surroundings differ in several linguistic features from the adjacent region. The differentiation of the dialects is especially apparent at the periphery. As an example, one may take the Ohrid dialect region. On a single narrow belt around Lake Ohrid, four or five separate dialectal units may be noted. The urban dialect of Ohrid along with the dialect of the lake-side villages represents one linguistic entity. Here nasal *ǫ is replaced with the phoneme /ă/, e.g., *răka* 'hand', *păt* 'path'; in place of vocalic *r̥ there is the group of two phonemes *ăr*, e.g., *părsti* 'fingers'. In Debarca the reflex of *ǫ is *a*, e.g., *pat*, *raka*, and vocalic *r̥ is preserved, e.g., *pr̥sti* 'fingers', *vr̥f*, *vr̥vot* 'peak, top' indef, def. Even the dialect of the town of Ohrid itself is not unified. In Varoš, the oldest part of the town, the phoneme /x/ is still found in numerous examples and in all positions, e.g., *xaro* 'an evil man, evil', *Oxrit* 'Ohrid', *prax* 'dust'. In the neighborhoods of Mesokastro and Košište *x* is lost in all positions as in other western dialects. On the northern and western shores of Lake Ohrid there is another dialect type. In the dialect of the villages Radožda, Vevčani and Mali Vlaj the reflex of *ǫ is the open *o* (*å*) after labial consonants and open *e* (*ä*) after non-labial consonants, e.g., *påt*, *räka*. In these same positions different reflexes are found in place of vocalic *r̥ and *l̥, e.g., *pårsti* 'fingers', *särce* 'heart', *vålk* 'wolf', *kälnit* 'curse'. In the Drimkol villages *ǫ > *å*, *r̥ > *år*, *l̥ > *ål*, e.g. *råka*, *dårvo* 'tree', *žålto* 'yellow'. In the dialect of the town of Struga *ǫ > *ă*, *r̥ > *ăr*, *l̥ > *ăl* as in Ohrid. However, there are other differences between the dialects of these two towns. In Struga the sequences *-oe-*, *-oa-* changed to *-ve-*, *-va-*, e.g., *toar* > *tvar* 'load', *čoek* > *čvek* 'man', the 3 pl aor and impf end in *e*, e.g., *vikae* 'call', *dojdoe* 'come'. In the

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Ohrid dialect these vocalic groups are preserved unchanged, e.g., *toar*, *čoek*, and the 3 pl aor and impf end in *-a*, e.g., *dojdoa*, *vikaa*.

One finds such dialect complexity in relatively small areas in all the peripheries—in the south in the Kostur and Solun regions, in the west in the Prespa, Debar and Polog regions, and even in the zone bordering Serbian and Bulgarian linguistic territory.

2. In the Macedonian dialects today there are over three hundred phonetic–phonological and grammatical features according to which the local dialects differ among themselves. Some of these features cover a large area while others are limited to a small region.

3. Historically, the features that differentiate the dialects can be traced from the OCS period to the present. The majority of the dialectal features originated during the period from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. It was during this period that the most important phonetic and structural changes occurred in Macedonian. A series of innovations appeared at this time, almost all of which also served as features that differentiate the dialects at a certain level.

Among the oldest innovations is the loss of jers in weak position (ъ͓, ь͓) and their replacement in strong position with *o*, *e*, e.g., **sъnъ* > *son* 'dream, sleep', **dьnь* > *den* 'day'. This phonetic phenomenon affected nearly the whole of Macedonian territory with the exception of the northern and eastern peripheries. The change of *ъ > *o* and *ь > *e* became the fundamental feature that differentiates Macedonian from Serbian and Bulgarian. At the same time, the change of the jers advanced the process of the dialectal differentiation of Macedonian. On the border zone with Serbian, the phonetic process took a different direction: *ь and *ъ fell together to a single sound *ă*. On the eastern border zone *ь changed to *e*, while *ъ was preserved as a separate phoneme, a diffuse correlate of the vowel *a*. Later in Razlog, this sound changed to *a*, e.g., *bačva* 'tub, barrel', *daš* 'rain'. After the loss of the jers, other sequences developed which have left traces on the differentiation of the dialects of Macedonian. Thus, for example, in the groups **cvьt-*, **svъn-*, **ʒvъn-*, the loss of *ь or *ъ brought about two new phonetic processes: in the western part of Macedonian, *v was vocalized and changed to *u*, e.g., *cutit* 'flower', *da osunet* 'let it dawn', *ʒunit* 'jingle, resound', while in eastern Macedonian before *v a secondary $ъ_2$ developed which in some dialects changed later to *a*, e.g., *căfti* 'flower', *osămnalo* 'the dawn broke' in Kumanovo–Kratovo, *cafte*, *ḱe osamne* in Štip–Strumica, and *da osavne* in Maleševo–Pirin.

In particular dialects, there were different reflexes of ъ$_2$ before the sonants *r*, *l*, *l'*, *m*, *ń* at the absolute end of the word, e.g., **větrъ* > *veter*, *vetar*, *vetor*, *vetăr* 'wind'; **ognь* > *ogin*, *ogen*, *ogan*, *ogon*, *ogăn* 'fire'; **sedmь* > *sedam*, *sedom*, *sedem*, *sedum* 'seven', etc.

Among the phonetic innovations which occurred in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, nasal **ǫ* and **ę* and vocalic **r̥* and **l̥* have left the most tangible traces in the process of dialectal differentiation of Macedonian. Denasalization was not carried out evenly throughout all of Macedonian linguistic territory. In the most southwestern and peripheral southeastern dialects, even today nasality is preserved, with the only difference being that nasal component has evolved into separate phonemes, e.g., *zambo* 'tooth' def, *ža bandi* '[it] will be' (Boboštica), *dåmbje* 'oak grove', *lendína* 'uncultivated land' (Nestram, Kostur), *grăndi* 'breast', *govendár* 'cowherd' (Kostur), *mănč* 'man', *drăngo* 'pole' def (Suho).

Distributional restrictions of nasals appeared quite early in Macedonian, especially for **ǫ* and its reflexes. It could not occur at the absolute beginning and because of this, prothetic sounds appeared: in the western part of Macedonian, *j* appeared as the prothetic sound, e.g., *jatok* or *jătok*, *jåtok*, *jätok*, *jutak*, while in eastern and southern Macedonian, *v* appeared, e.g., *vatok*, *vătok* 'thread'.

The mixing of the nasals in several positions left traces on the process of differentiation. After the consonant *j* in the western dialects, in place of **ę* one regularly finds the same value as for **ǫ*, e.g., *jazik* 'language, tongue' or *jăzik*, *jozik*, *jåzik*, *jäzik* or *raka*, *roka*, etc., while in the eastern dialects, **ę* was regularly replaced with *e*, e.g., *ezik*, *etr̥va* 'sister-in-law'. In some locations in the Ohrid and Prespa dialects, also after *č*, we find remainders of the old replacement of **ę* with **ǫ*, e.g., *čădo* 'child' (OCS *čędo*).

Nasal **ǫ* has played an especially important role in the differentiation of the dialects of Macedonian. In one quite large area in central Macedonia, this sound has been replaced with *a*, e.g., *raka*. On the border zone with Serbian linguistic territory, **ǫ* > *u*, *ruka*. In south Macedonia, in the root morpheme, *ă* is regularly found, e.g., *răka*. On the western periphery, besides the reflex *ă* (in Gorni Polog, Debar, Struga, and Ohrid), *o* also appeared in Mala Reka, open *o* (*å*) in Drimkol and Golo Brdo, and *a* or *am*/*an* in Boboštica.

Parallel with the development of nasal **ǫ*, processes connected with the so-called secondary ъ$_2$ in the root morpheme evolved, as well as the development of vocalic **r̥* and **l̥*. The secondary ъ$_2$ yielded the same reflexes as,**ǫ*, i.e. *a*, *ă*, *o*, *å*, e.g., *maska*, *măska*, *moska*, *måska* 'mule'. In most dialects, the vocalic component of the reflex of *r̥ and *l̥ merged with the reflex of *ǫ, e.g., *pat* 'path', *parst* 'finger', *dalgo* 'long' in Boboštica, *păt*, *părsti*, *dălgo* in Gorni Polog, Struga, Kostur and Voden, *råka*, *pårsti* 'fingers', *våk* 'wolf' in Drimkol. Vocalic *r̥ was maintained in northern and central Macedonia, but vocalic *l̥ remained only in Mala Reka and a part of the Kičevo dialect.

Within the boundaries of Macedonian linguistic territory in the period from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, yet another series of innovations developed: the replacement of *y with *i*, the reduction of unaccented vowels, the dispalatalization of some consonants (*š* – *ž*, *c* – *ʒ*), the replacement of *ě with *a* after already hardened *c* – *ʒ*, etc. Innovations in grammar are especially numerous. Here we will mention only a few: the spread of the dative ending *-ove*, e.g., *mu reče Markove* '[s/he] told Marko', which is today characteristic of the Debar dialect; the pl ending *-ovi* for monosyllabic masc substantives; for verbs the ending *-xǫ* in the 3 pl aor; the ending *-me* in the 1 pl pres, e.g., *imame* 'have'; the ending *-le* in the pl form of the participle, e.g., *bile* 'were'; the reduplication of the object; changes in nominal and verbal stems; analytic gradation, and others. The majority of the innovations mentioned were reflected in different texts of Macedonian provenance in this period. Thus, we can establish the chronology of the innovations to a great extent.

To some degree, all of these innovations, depending on the amount of territory they encompassed, contributed to the dialectal differentiation of Macedonian. The process of the dialectal differentiation of Macedonian continued later. By the fourteenth century, examples with the change of *č* to *c* before vocalic *r* already occur, e.g., *crьvije*. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a series of innovations appeared, first connected to the vowel *ě, then in the accentual system, and also in declension. Written records demonstrate that *ě had merged with *e* in northern and central Macedonia in this period. In western Macedonia, by the fifteenth century, stress has been retracted from final position. Analytic declension was completely realized. It can be supposed that at this time in the northern and central parts of Macedonia examples with *ḱ* and *ǵ*, instead of CS **tj*, **dj* were widespread.

Some of the processes that had begun earlier, were only completed in the sixteenth century. From this period we have texts, mostly handwritten records, which show the loss of the phoneme /x/ in some positions, as well as the ending *-e* in the 3 pl aor and impf.

In the seventeenth century, the consonants *s*, *š* before the affricates *c*, *č* changed to *x*. There are also examples with the change of *k* to *x* before *t*, e.g., *xtytora* 'ktytor' or to *v*, e.g., *ovьtoi* (*kь*) 'oktoikh'. At the turn of the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century a set of new changes affected consonants. In specific phonetic positions, primarily between vowels, a series of consonants were lost, e.g., *x*, *v*, *j*, and in some places also *d*, *g*, *ž* and others. As a result, new relations in the distribution of consonants arose, which later provoked further changes: the appearance of hiatic sounds, e.g., *snava*, *snaja* 'sister-in-law'; the formation of diphthongal groups, e.g., *snai* > *snaj* pl, *stoloi* > *stoloj* 'chairs' pl, *poloina* > *polojna* 'half', *jazoec* > *jazojc* 'badger', *goedar* > *gojdar* 'cowherd'; different forms of assimilation, e.g., *toar* > *to*^{a}*r* 'freight', *strea* > *str*^{e}*a* 'eaves'; contraction of consonants, e.g., *taa* > *ta:* 'she', *kutii* > *kuti:* 'boxes'; and many other changes. Of the consonantal changes completed at this time and which affected the dialectalization of Macedonian, the replacement of *x* with *v*, *f* or *j*, and the assimilation of the groups *sc*, *šč* to *xc*, *xč*, e.g., *prasci* > *praxci* 'piglets', *mesce* > *mexce* 'meat, flesh (hyp)', *krušče* > *kruxče* 'pear (hyp)', etc. are the most important. The verbal system also underwent important changes. More and more often new verbal forms appeared as a result of the influence of the neighboring non-Slavic languages: with the auxiliary verb *ima*, e.g., *ima dojdeno*, pres of *ima* plus the *-n/-t*-part form; and with *sum*, e.g., *sum dojden*, pres of *sum* plus the *-n/-t*-part form. The new classification of verbs according to the stem vowel also represents an important innovation. In that respect, the character of the vowel in the verb stem played an important role in many areas of Macedonia, e.g., *seeš* 'sow', *tkaeš* 'weave', *čueš* 'hear', *mieš* 'wash', *broeš* 'count', but *nosiš* 'carry', *beriš* 'gather', *sečiš* 'cut' all 2 sg pres.

The process of the dialectal differentiation of Macedonian, as we have seen, can be traced back to a very early period. Since innovative features very rarely covered the entire linguistic territory, almost every innovation which arose in the language, at the same time served to differentiate the dialects.

Those features that appear today as the most characteristic for various dialects or groups of dialects arose, generally speaking, in the period prior to the fifteenth century, with only a few appearing later. This means that the basic differentiation of the dialects of Macedonian was finished, at the latest, before the fifteenth century. This is an extremely important period in the development of Macedonian. With these changes accomplished toward the end of the fifteenth century, Macedonian acquired a new character—it was a language with a relatively new structure, which was very different from that of CS. Of course, changes occurring at a later date are also important. In relation to the dialects, however, they merely added to the basic outline of the already-formed situation of the dialects in Macedonia.[1]

4. Genetically, features that differentiate the dialects belong to two groups. The majority of them originated as a consequence of the internal development of Macedonian, including the following: vocalization of jers, mixing of the nasals, denasalization, the appearance of the secondary $ъ_2$ under various phonetic conditions, the appearance of hiatic sounds (*v*, *j*), the restructuring of the vocalic system in separate dialects, etc. There are however, other phenomena which arose due to the influence of other Balkan languages—both Slavic and non-Slavic—Aromanian, Albanian, Greek, and later also Turkish. The influence of the Balkan languages is most pronounced in grammar and lexicon, and to a lesser degree in phonology. All of the more important structural changes in Macedonian can be explained by the influence of non-Slavic Balkan languages: the loss of declension and the change to the analytic way of expressing case relations; the appearance of postposed articles; the reduplication of the object; the use of the preposition *na* for the direct object, e.g., *Go vidov na Marko* '[I] saw Marko'; and relating to the verb, the appearance of compound forms with *ima*, e.g., *ima dojdeno*, pres of *ima* plus the *-n/-t*-part form; *imaše dojdeno*, impf of *ima* plus the *-n/-t*-part form; etc., constructions of the type *sum dojden*, pres of *sum* plus the *-n/-t*-part form; modal forms with *ḱe*, e.g., *ḱe odev*, future in the past; *ḱe odel*, *ḱe beše odel*, both indef future in the past; the loss of the verbal *l*-participle form; the preposed use of clitics, e.g., *Go vide Marka* '[s/he] saw Marko', *Mu reče na čovekot* '[s/he] told the man', *Ste go videle deteto* '[You] have seen the child'; the omission of the preposition *v* (*vo*), e.g., *Odam Bitola* '[I] am going to Bitola'. The number of lexical dialectalisms of Balkan origin is even greater. Here we will mention only the suffix *-ule*, e.g. *detule* 'small child', *kuḱule* 'small house', which is especially productive in western Macedonia. All of these features penetrated deeply into the Macedonian dialects and appear as features of differentiation between the individual local dialects or entire groups of dialects.

The influence of the Serbian language is felt more in phonology and in the lexicon. In this way, one is able to account for ekavism (the replacement of **ě* with *e*), dissimilation of the consonantal groups *čr-* to *cr-*, e.g., *cr̥n* 'black', *crevo* 'gut'; the appearance of the phonemes *ḱ* and *ǵ* in place of the CS **tj*, **dj*; palatalization of new consonantal groups *tj*, *dj* (from **tъj*, **dъj*) to

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[1] Chronologically, innovations in Macedonian are classified according to Koneski 1965.

ḱ, *ǵ*, e.g., *cveḱe* 'flower', *livaǵe* 'meadow'; then the reflex *u* for **ǫ* in dozens of lexemes (*kuḱa* 'house', *vruḱ* 'warm', *sud* 'court', *guska* 'goose', *gužva* 'crowd', etc.); several word-formation morphemes, e.g., *-iḱi* in the northern and central dialects; the phonetic variety of the prepositions **vъ*, **vъzъ* > *u*, *uz*, e.g., *u selo* 'in the village', *uz nego* 'along with him', *pomina us kuḱa* 'pass by the house'; and many lexical dialectalisms.

5. Innovative features that appeared as a result of the internal processes had a greater significance for the dialectal differentiation of Macedonian. According to their geographical distribution, they are of several types.

The majority of these features are limited to Macedonian territory and are not found outside Macedonian linguistic territory. Most of them cover a contiguous territory. They occur, for the most part, in the central and western regions. Thus, for example, the velarization of the old palatal **l'* (from **lj*) has been completed in the Prilep, Poreče, Veles and Skopje dialects, e.g., *nedela* 'week, Sunday' *luti* 'hot, spicy', *kluč* 'key', *prijatel* 'friend'. In other areas, either the palatal *l'* has been preserved, e.g., *nedel'a, kl'uč* in the northern dialects or it has been changed to alveolar *l'*, e.g., *nedel'a, kl'uč, prijatel'* in Polog, Debar, Ohrid, Bitola, Kostur, and in all dialects east of the Vardar. An even greater contiguous territory in central and western Macedonia is covered by the following features: prothetic *j* and *v* in cases like *jazik* 'languge, tongue' and *vizba* 'cellar'; the change of *v* to *u* in the groups *cvъ-*, *svъ-*, *ʒvъ-*; the change of *i* to *i̯* after another vowel, e.g., *glai* > *glai̯* 'head' pl; the loss of intervocalic *v*; the change of *x* to *v* or *f* at the end of the syllable: *nivno – nifno* 'their', *čevli* 'boots', *vr̥f* 'peak'. In this part of Macedonia the old change of **ję* to **jǫ* is consistent, and stress is fixed on the antepenultimate syllable. The vowel in a clitic is lost when not stressed and the following word begins with a vowel, e.g., *g-udri* '[s/he] hit him', *ḱ-odi* '[s/he] will go', *s-izmi* '[s/he] washed him/herself', *m-izede* 'it's eating me', *j-ostaj* '[s/he] left her', (*go udri*, *ḱe odi*, *se izmi*, *me izede*, *ja ostavi*). Characteristic of only the western dialects are: the pronominal form *je* for the dative and the accusative of *taa*; the demonstrative-possessive *ovegov*, *onegov*, *ovejzin*, *onejzin*, *ovivni*, *onivni*; the pres form *se* in the 3 pl from *sum*; the widespread use of the participle form *donesol*; the omission of the auxiliary verb in the 3 person in the perfect; the phonetic varieties *ruček* 'dinner', *stežer* 'pivot', etc. The isoglosses of these features cover a wide area from Tetovo to Lake Prespa in the west and to the Vardar and Crna rivers in the east. These features unite the western and central dialects in one large group, and at the same time separate them from other dialects. The geographical unity and location of these features show that they originated on western Macedonian territory.

The following features are found on a more limited area in western Macedonia: the appearance of the secondary *ʒ* with the sonant *l*, e.g., *solʒa* 'tear'; the ending *-e* in the 3 pl in the aor and impf, e.g., *vikae* 'call', *dojdoe* 'come'; *-et* in the 3 pl. pres, e.g., *vikaet/viket* 'call'; metathesis of the sequence *-ni-* to *-in-* in multi-syllabic words, e.g., *vodénica – vodéinca – vodéjnca* 'watermill'; the phonetic change of *u* to *v* in the verbal suffix *-ue/-ua*, e.g., *kupuat* > *kupvat*, *kupuet* > *kupvet – kupvit* 'buy'; the *ḱa* future marker; pronominal forms *ja* 'she' acc, *mie* 'we', *tea* 'it', etc. Some of these forms cover a greater area (*ja* in all dialects north of the line Ohrid–Veles). There are forms which connect Ohrid–Debar dialects with the Kostur group (the endings *-e*, *-et*, phonetic variety *kupva – kupvi*, and *kupvit*).

In the linguistic peripheries, especially in the west and south, we find yet another series of innovations, which cover relatively small areas. In the dialect area of Struga the vocalic groups *-ia-*, *-oa*, *-oe-* have a specific development (in polysyllabic words), viz. *-ia-* > *-ja-*, e.g., *rakia* > *rakja* > *raḱa* 'brandy' *-oa-* > *-va-*, e.g., *toar* > *tvar* 'freight', *-oe-* > *-ve-*, e.g., *jazoec* > *jazvec* 'badger', *goedar* > *gvedar* 'cowherd'. The Kostur area has the verbal suffix *-íva*, e.g., *zaboravíva* 'forget', the substantival suffix *-nišča*, e.g., *poleníšča* 'field' pl, *morjeníšča* 'sea' pl, and the verbal formations on *-tje*, e.g., *ženétje* 'marriage', *osunátje* 'dawn' etc.

Some features that differentiate the dialects are found in the same form on two or more locations on Macedonian territory. For example, syllable-final *l* with labial-velar articulation is found in the Tetovo, Prespa, Meglen, Pijanec and Kratovo dialects, e.g., *dou̯* 'valley', *dou̯če* 'valley' dim. The reflex of nasal **ǫ* is *ă* in southern Macedonia and in several dialects on the western periphery in the Gorni Polog, Debar, Struga, Ohrid and Kostur dialect regions. Between these zones we find other values: *o* in Mala Reka, *å/ą* in Reka, *å* in Drimkol-Golo Brdo, *å/ä* in Radožda, Vevčani, *a/am – an* in Boboštica, and *å/åm – ån* in the Nestram dialect. The isoglosses of each of these features do not form closed lines, therefore for the same phenomenon there are several areas, unconnected among themselves. In such cases, we cannot speak about a single dialect source of the particular phenomenon.

The number of features that cross the borders of Macedonian linguistic territory is large. These features are found mainly in the areas bordering the Bulgarian and Serbian languages.

On a wide area in eastern Macedonia, the following dialect innovations are found: the secondary ъ$_2$ in the consonantal groups *cv-*, *sv-* e.g., *căfte/cafte* 'to flower', *osămnalo/osamnalo*; the replacement of **ě* with *a* after *c*, e.g., *cal* 'whole', *cadilo* 'collander'; prothetic *v* before the reflex of the initial **ǫ*, e.g., *vatók/vătók*; the variant form *sa* 3 pl pres of the verb *sum*; the doubling of the prepositions *vo* > *vov*, *so* > *sos*; the phonetic varieties of pronominal forms *nia* 1 pl, *via* 2 pl, *gi* 3 pl acc, *nejn* 3 sg fem poss, *nini* 3 pl poss, *voj* 'this', *noj* 'that'; the widespread use of the particles *-ka* and *-ze* separately or together, e.g., *niaka* 'we', *meneka* 1 sg acc, *jazeka* 'I', *tizeka* 'you'; the reduction of unaccented vowels in the southeastern dialects, e.g., *ufčár* 'shepheard', *guvidár* 'cowherd'; paradigmatic stress, etc. The eastern dialects are opposed to the western ones by these features and are thus differentiated from them.

Along a narrow band in the eastern area we have the following phenomena: the change of *o* to *e* after a palatal consonant in article morphemes, e.g., *kraj* – *krae* 'edge, area' def, *maž* – *maž*e 'man' def; the palatalization of the final **tь* (**dь*) to *ǩ*, e.g., *zet* > *zeǩ* 'son-in-law, brother-in-law, *pat* > *paǩ* 'path'; and the change of *k* to *ǩ* after palatal consonants, e.g., *majka* > *majǩa/maǩa* 'mother', *vujko* > *vujǩo/vuǩo* 'uncle', *prijatél'ǩa* 'girl-friend', *prestíl'ǩa* 'apron'; dissimilation of the nasal groups *mn* to *vn*, e.g., *guvno* 'threshing floor, common heath', *stovna* 'jug, pitcher'; the change of the fricatives *s* and *š* to *x* in groups with the affricates *c* and *č*, e.g., *krušče* > *kruxče* 'pear (dim)', *mosče* > *moxče* 'bridge (dim), the pl ending *-e* for masc substantives ending in a palatal or once palatal consonant, e.g., *ovčare* 'shepherds', *prijatele* 'friends', *običae* 'customs', *kone* 'horses'. By means of these features, the extreme eastern dialects—in Maleševo, Pijanec and Pirin Macedonia—are separated to form a individual dialect unit in the framework of the eastern Macedonian dialect complex.

The isoglosses of almost all these features cross the borders of the Macedonian linguistic territory, continuing on to Serbian and Bulgarian territory. The sources of innovation of some of the above-mentioned features are found on Macedonian territory. The forms *nia/mia* 1 pl pron, *via* 2 pl pron and paradigmatic stress cover a wide belt along the Solun–Štip–Kumanovo line and only in the north do they cross the linguistic border. A wider area is covered by the form *sa*, but the replacement of **ǫ* with *a* shows that this had to have begun phonetically in **ǫ* > *a* dialects.

The changes *o* > *e*, *t'* > *ǩ*, *k* > *ǩ* after palatal consonants, the change of *mn* > *vn*, as well as the change of *s*, *t* before *c*, *č* to *x*, are found in the

Maleševo–Pirin dialects and in the neighboring Bulgarian dialects. Their source must have been in the linguistic border zone itself.

Territorially, the most widespread features are: prothetic *v*; the doubled prepositions *sos* (*săs*) and *vov* (*văf, făf, uf*); secondary *ъ*$_2$ in the groups *căv*, *săv*; the replacement of **ě* with *a* after *c*; and the reduction of unaccented vowels. The first are in common with Bulgarian, where they are widespread features. The doubling of prepositions, or more exactly of the preposition *sos* (*săs*) and the secondary *ъ*$_2$ in the groups just mentioned are also found in a wide area in the Serbian border dialects. The group *ca* and vowel reduction are regular phenomena in all southeastern Macedonian dialects and are found on a wide area of Bulgarian linguistic territory. This shows their source must have been outside of Macedonia.

The features differentiating the dialects in the northern border zone—toward Serbian linguistic territory—are: the replacement of the two jers with the phoneme *ă*, e.g., *dăn* 'day', *săn* 'sleep, dream'; the *u* reflex of **ǫ* in all positions e.g., *ruka, na ruku* 'on the hand'; the replacement of **l̥* with *u*, e.g., *vuna* 'wool', *žuto* 'yellow'; in morphology, the pl ending *-e*, e.g., *žene* 'women'; the pronominal-adjectival ending *-ga*, e.g., *ovoga* 'this', *dobroga* 'good'; the verbal endings *-mo* in 1 pl; the ending *-v* in 3 pl pres, e.g., *vikav* 'call'; the impf endings *-smo, -ste*, e.g., *vikasmo* 'call' 1 pl, *vikaste* 'call' 2 pl; the aor ending *-še*, e.g., *vikáše* 'called'; the part ending *-ja* for masc gender, e.g., *vikája* etc. By these features, the northern dialects are opposed to other Macedonian dialects. All of the above-mentioned features are characteristic for the Serbian border dialects and several are general features of the Serbian/Croatian area. Evidently, their source is located on Serbian territory. Their southern isoglosses follow approximately the Tetovo–Skopje–Probištip line.

6. Innovative features that developed under the influence of the non-Slavic Balkan languages also contributed extensively to the internal differentiation of the Macedonian dialects. Some of these features have covered all of Macedonian territory and have become general features of Macedonian. These are: analytic declension of nouns, the postposed article and the category of definiteness, the loss of the infinitive, the reduplication of object, etc. These features are also characteristic of Bulgarian, and appear in the eastern and southern Serbian dialects. Thus, they have become general Balkan features. There are, however, numerous linguistic features of this type (Balkanisms) which developed on Macedonian territory and have been preserved there, covering a larger or a smaller area. Some of these features have penetrated deeply into the structure of the dialects and have become factors of dialectal differentiation. Thus, for example, verb paradigms with *ima* + *-n/-t*-part are used in all verbal categories only in the western Macedonian dialects. To the east and to the north, their frequency decreases. In eastern Macedonia, forms of the type *ima dojdeno* or *ḱe imal dojdeno* are unusual, and others, including the pluperfect, e.g., *beše imal odeno, ḱe beše imal odeno* are not used at all. In northern Macedonia, the forms of the type *ima dojdeno* or *imaše dojdeno* are rare. The distribution of verbal constructions with the auxiliary verb *sum* + *-n/-t*-part is similar. The most widespread forms are *sum dojden* and *bev dojden*. Forms of the type *sum bil dojden, bev bil dojden* and with the particle *ḱe*, e.g., *ḱe sum dojden, ḱe bev dojden* etc., are limited mainly to the western Macedonian area. Also occuring only in the western dialects are modal forms of the type *ḱe beše odel*; the diminutive-expressive suffix *-ule*; the use of the preposition *od* with a possessive meaning, e.g., *kuḱata od majka mi* 'my mother's house'; the omission of the preposition *vo*, e.g., *Odi Bitola* 'Go to Bitola!'; the use of pronominal form *mu* for the fem, e.g., *Mu reče na ženata* '[s/he] told the woman', and in places, for the pl *Mu reče na decata* 'he told the children', the use of clitics before the verb at the absolute beginning of the sentence, e.g., *Go vide deteto* '[s/he] saw the child', *Mu reče nemu* '[s/he] told him', *Sum ti rekol* '[I] told you', etc. The use of the preposition *na* with the direct object is found on an even more narrow area, e.g., *Go vide na deteto* '[s/he] saw the child'. The direct object for animate substantives is expressed in Kostur and Debar dialects in this way. In addition, in Kostur the verbal *l*-form has been lost, and because of this, the number of compound verbal forms in the system has been reduced. After the loss of the *l*-perfect, on one hand, the use of forms with *ima* has been strengthened, and on the other hand, the categories of definiteness and of non-confirmativeness for verbs have been weakened. In the Kostur–Lerin and the Ohrid dialects, the verbal adv is in the process of being lost. The preservation of the dative in the Boboštica, Ohrid, Debar, Kičevo–Poreče, and Polog dialects has occurred under the influence of the Balkan languages. All of the features mentioned here have been completely adapted into the structure of the dialects that use them and have become markers of differentiation. The isoglosses of the majority of these features in the east and north are included in the isogloss bundle which separates the western dialects from the two other basic dialect groups, the northern and the eastern. The source of the innovations of the above-mentioned dialect features of "Balkan" origin is located in western Macedonia, from where they have spread to the east and to the north.

7. The innovative features that appeared on Macedonian territory owing to the influence of Serbian are not of particularly great importance for the dialectal differentiation of Macedonian. As we have seen, there are not many of them. The majority of them are found in the northern dialects, fewer in the central, and as one moves to the south and to the western and eastern peripheries, they are more rare. The following have entered most deeply into Macedonian territory: the group *cr-*, e.g., *cr̥ven* 'red', *crep*, 'flower pot'; the phonemes *ḱ* and *ǵ* obtained from the so-called new iotation, e.g., *braḱa* 'brothers', *ograǵe* 'fence'; the pronoun *on* and the phonetic variant *u* of the preposition **vъ*. The last two are found in the dialects of the Lower Vardar region, all the way to Gulf of Salonika. The isoglosses of these features form an arc along the line Tetovo–Skopje–Veles–Voden–Solun, and in the east approach Petrič and Razlog. The isogloss of the group *cr-* forms a circle along the entire western and southern peripheries. Only on a single narrow band along the Albanian border *č* (*čr-*) is preserved unchanged. However, in these dialects *č* does not stand directly in front of *r*, because a vowel has appeared before *r*, e.g., *čărpit* 'scoop', in Debar, *čårpit* in Drimkol–Golo Brdo and Reka, *čarpi* in the Boboštica dialect and in the southwestern Kostur villages, and the group **črě-* has changed to **čere-*, e.g., *čerep*, *čerevo* 'intestine, bowels'. On the southern periphery the old *č* in this position is preserved in the Serez–Lagadina dialects, e.g., *čărn* 'black'. The so-called new iotation of the groups **tьj*, **dьj* to *ḱ*, *ǵ* is most complete in the northern and central dialects. In Kičveo–Poreče, Debar, Ohrid–Prespa and in the south in the Lerin and the lower Vardar dialects, besides *ḱ*, *ǵ*, one also finds examples with *tj*, *dj* preserved, e.g., *bratja* 'brothers', *ogradje* 'fence' pl, or even the groups *tḱ*, *dǵ* are found, e.g., *bratḱa*, *livadǵe* 'meadow' pl, the product of contamination, and in places perhaps on the way to the abstraction of *-ḱe*/*-ḱa* and *-ǵe* as separate grammatical morphemes for the collective pl. In Kọstur, *tj*, *dj* regularly occur, e.g., *bratja*, *svatja* 'bridegrooms', *djavol* 'devil'. The reflexes of **tj*, **dj* are spread in approximately the following way. In the northern and central dialects examples with *ḱ*, *ǵ* dominate, on the periphery *št*, *žd* and *šč*, *ž*(*ǯ*) are dominant. However, a single isogloss of this feature can not be drawn, due to the fact that every lexeme with a phonetic variety of *ḱ* has its own distinct border. In the largest region *ḱ* appears in the particle *ḱe* and in the ending for the verbal adv *-eḱi*/*-jḱi*. In several lexemes in the central and western dialects the reflex of *ǫ is *u*, e.g., *kuka* 'house', *gužva* 'crowd', *guska* 'goose', *sud* 'court-of-law', etc. The first two are found far to the south in this phonetic shape. In Kostur, however, one finds *kăšča*, or *kåšča* 'house', *såndač* 'judge', *sendi* 'to judge', in Boboštica *kašča*. The dialect source of all of these features is found outside of the borders of Macedonian, i.e., on the Serbian/Croatian linguistic area.

8. The greatest number of linguistic innovations, as we have seen here, originated in central and western Macedonia, and from their source spread in all directions. This spreading was not uniform, however. In some areas, the processes progressed more slowly, while in others, new features spread more quickly. One part of the dialect innovations was preserved in a small area inside the linguistic territory, some penetrated to the linguistic periphery, and a small number crossed the linguistic boundary.

New linguistic features, which also became dialect markers of the region where they originated, created oppositions with older features, which continued to exist in the neighboring regions. With time, some of the innovations came to dominate completely, while the old features disappeared. But there are areas along the linguistic periphery where the old features continued to thrive. The majority of such archaic features today are found along the zone bordering Albanian and Greek. In this entire area, in place of the CS groups **tj*, **dj*, the old reflexes *št*, *žd* (*šč*, *ž* – *žǯ*) are preserved, not only in the root, but also in derivational and grammatical morphemes. In the extreme western dialects, old *ʒ* in front of *e*, *i*, is very well preserved, e.g., *blaʒi* 'mild', *noʒi*/*noʒe* 'legs'. Likewise examples with *č* unchanged in front of *r̥ are also found, e.g., *čărpit* or *čårpit*, and *čarpit*. On the belt from Mavrovo to Kostur the final *-t* in the groups *-st*, *-št* is quite well preserved, e.g., *list* 'leaf', *prišt* 'boil', *došt*. On a larger area we find the ending *-t* for the 3 sg pres and the continued use of the dative for personal names of masc and fem gender, e.g., *Stojanu*, *Mari*/*Mare*. In central and other dialects of Macedonian, as we have already mentioned, *čr* > *cr*, *ʒ* has been replaced with *z*, the groups *-st*, *-št* have been simplified with the loss of the final *-t*, the ending *-t* has been lost in the 3 sg, and the dative is expressed analytically.

There are even more archaic features in the Boboštica, Kostur and Lagadina dialects. In these dialects there are examples with nasality preserved, e.g., *grandi* 'breast', *grendi* 'go' (Boboštica), *dåmbje* 'oak grove', *jarembica* 'partridge' (Nestram), *mănč* 'man', *z'ănt* 'son-in-law' (Suho). In the Boboštica and Suho-Visoka dialects *ě is preserved as a separate phoneme, e.g., *v'ära* 'belief', *l'äp* 'bread'. In the Lagadina dialect the consonant *x* is well preserved, as are the older system of stress, the softness of some consonants, the pl ending *-ent(a)* for neut substantives, some pronominal forms: *xto* (< **kъto*) 'who', *kutri* 'which', etc. In this way two types of dialects have formed: the central and the peripheral. The central dialects with their innovations are seen as progressive, while the peripheral, where old features are still found, are considered archaic. The division between archaic and progressive dialects in the framework of Macedonian should be understood conditionally. The dialects can be juxtaposed in this way only according to a specific number of features. However, if the dialects are arranged according to the number of Balkanisms, which are in fact new phenomena, then the western periphery appears more progressive in relation to the other dialect regions. Furthermore, the western and central dialects together are more progressive than the eastern and the northern. Besides this, on the periphery, as has been pointed out once before, there are a series of new features which the central dialects lack. These features are not juxtaposed as new vs. old (archaic), but as qualitatively new in relation to the corresponding innovations in the central dialects. The reflexes of nasal **ǫ* and vocalic **l̥* illustrate this the best. In the central source of innovations, **ǫ* > *a*, but opposed to this, there are other reflexes: *o*, *å*, *ă* in the western peripheral dialects, *ă* (*ăn/ăm*) in the southern, and *u* in the northern. Vocalic **l̥* has been replaced in the central dialects with *ol*. Opposed to this, in the western dialects the reflexes are *ål*, *å*, *ăl*, in the eastern *ă*, in the northern *u* or *ăl*, and in the southern *ăl/lă*.

9. These facts allow us to draw the following conclusions. Already with the appearance of old innovative features in the western part of Macedonian linguistic territory, a main source of innovation began to form. During the historical development of Macedonian the number of new features increased and by this, the language more and more separated from the CS type. With time, innovative features, which at the same time became features differentiating the dialects, spread to larger areas. As a result of this spreading, the source area increased, forming in this way the main dialect source. Due to specific historical and cultural circumstances, the dialects of this source area grew into the basic central dialect complex of Macedonian linguistic territory.

Tendencies in the Development of the Dialects of Macedonian in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*

The periodization of any phenomena is always quite relative. Since no phenomenon arises at once, it is difficult to draw a strict division between phenomena that originated, for example, at the end of the eighteenth century, and those at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The chronological division of linguistic processes completed in the Macedonian linguistic area should therefore be understood as approximate. Due to the lack of written attestations, the time of the appearance of the innovations is determined by the relative chronology of the processes.

Linguistic processes which were completed on the Macedonian area in the past two centuries can be divided into two groups. The first group is made up of the phenomena which originated earlier, before the nineteenth century, but continued to develop later, and for some, are still in the process of development. This type of phenomenon is the most common. Most are relatively old innovations, which have already stabilized in the system at some distant time in the local dialects, and spread later to other areas, extending into other microsystems. Among the most prominent of these from the field of phonetics belong the dispalatalization of the palatal sonants **l′*, **nj*, the loss of the phoneme /x/, the loss of several consonants in the intervocalic position *(j, v, ž, z, s, d, t, g, k)*, in grammar the stabilization of analyticism for substantives and pronouns and a series of phenomena in the verbal system.

The process of the dispalatalization of the **l′*,**nj*, which began in the oldest period of the development of Macedonian, did not proceed equally on all of Macedonian territory. The "hardening" of **l′*, and thus also its dephonologization, was completed long ago in the central dialects, where the source of this phenomenon should be posited, e.g., *kluč* 'key', *nedela* 'week, Sunday' (Koneski 1965: 56). In other areas, with the exception of the extreme northern dialects bordering Serbian linguistic territory, where palatality is still well preserved (*polje* 'field', *ključ* 'key'), **l'* has changed from palatal to alveolar, e.g., *kl'uč, pol'e* and in most dialects the process has stopped at this point. Thus in these dialects we have the opposition *l' – l* with palatality no longer being a relevant marker.

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In more recent times two tendencies have been noted in different dialects—either the opposition has been completely eliminated or it has been extended. In the majority of locations in the dialects across the entire periphery, the process of "hardening" of **l'* continues. First, **l'* is hardening at the absolute end of the word. Today, in the Lower Vardar dialects, for example, it is not uncommon to hear the pronunciation *učítăl* 'teacher' (Čegan–Voden region), *sol* 'salt', *žal* 'sorrow', but *kl'uč, nedél'a/nidél'a.* In the urban dialect of Kratovo, where the process is even more advanced, *l* at the end of the syllable is velarized, so that one encounters the pronunciation *učíteṷ* 'teacher', *žéṷka* 'turtle', as in *doṷ* 'valley', *seṷski* 'provincial', but *nedéla – kl'uč* (Vidoeski 1952: 60). This tendency of settling on a single pronunciation is especially noticeable in the Tikveš dialect. In some locations in this region, the older generation pronounces an alveolar *l'*, e.g., *kl'uč, postél'a* 'bed', while in the speech of the middle and younger generations pronunciations with different degrees of velarization can be heard, e.g., *kl'uč, češel'* 'comb' but *čelat* 'children', *nedéla, bózel* 'elder' (Barovo), *l'upe* 'skin, peel', *vr̥l'a* 'throw' but *češla* 'comb', and also *soṷ* 'salt' and *koṷ* 'pole', *kotoṷ* 'couldron' (Pravednik). In the speech of some representatives an intermediate pronunciation between *l* and *l'* is heard, which neutralizes the difference between the two sounds. In the dialect of Pijanec, a region between Kočani and Blagoevgrad, the articulation of the hard *l* has moved in the direction of a bilabial pronunciation, while the alveolar pronunciation is still well preserved, e.g., *sṷama* 'hay', *ṷuk* 'garlic', *goṷ* 'naked' but also *l'ut* 'angry' *sol'* 'salt'.

The process of dispalatalization of the nasal palatal **nj* has also been progressing for a longer period. However, this process spread in a different direction geographically, from south to north and its source is undoubtedly located in the southern linguistic area. Today this process is fully completed in the southern Macedonian dialects on the area stretching from Korča and Gramos to Solun approximately to the Ohrid–Prilep–Demir Kapija line in the north. In the Kostur region, it was already quite developed in the sixteenth century (e.g., *kon* 'horse' in a sixteenth-century text). That the dispalatalization of **nj* began in this dialect earlier than in any other Macedonian dialect is shown by the fact that in Kostur the so-called new iotation of the group *nj (< *nьj)* is not completed, e.g., *tărnje* 'thorns', *jadenje* 'food' but *kon* 'horse', *bana* 'bath'. By the eighteenth century this phenomenon had extended to the dialects in Pelagonija, e.g., *koini* 'horses' in an eighteenth-century text (Seliščev 1933: 221), and it has continued to advance since that time. Today, in the Prilep dialect, this process is completed and stabilized, especially in the speech of the younger generation (Koneski 1949: 261). In the Ohrid–Struga region, it was present already at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and today is stabilized (Tošev 1970: 160–67). In the speech of the younger generation in Struga and Ohrid, **nj* has been dispalatalized, i.e., dephonologized, e.g., *kojn* 'horse', *bajna – bana* 'bath', *jadejne* 'food' (Tošev 1970: 107). In the more northern Macedonian dialects, "soft" *ń* has preserved its phonemic status but with limited distribution. The intensity of dispalatalization has slowed under the strong influence of the literary norm. Material from the dialects shows that the hardening has followed a complicated path: *ń > jń > jn > n (koń > kojń > kojn > kon)*. Today, one can follow clearly the change of the palatal element into a separate palatal phoneme, as well as its loss conditioned by the phonetic position. First, *j* was lost in the position after *i,* e.g., *polina* 'fields' but *kojn* 'horse', and it is best preserved in the suffix *-jne (< ńe)* where it is a part of a grammatical morpheme, e.g., *tr̥jne* 'thorns', *jadejne* 'food'.

Along with the dispalatalization of **l'* and **nj* in the dialects of Macedonian mentioned above, the distinctive feature of palatality was also lost, thus the number of distinctive features in these dialectal microsystems was also reduced.

The loss of several consonants in intervocalic position and the dephonologization of *x* are among the most important phenomena completed in the dialects of Macedonian in more recent times. The consequences of their loss influenced not only the deepening of dialectal differentiation, but also the phonological systems of the dialects. Many consonants in intervocalic position were lost in numerous dialects of Macedonian, especially in western and southern Macedonia: *j, v, s, z, ž, t, d, k, g*. The loss of *j* and *v* is especially widespread. Intervocalic *j* has been lost in specific vocalic groups in nearly all the dialects of Macedonian, e.g., *zmii* 'snake' pl, *zmia* 'snake' sg, *moi* 'my' pl, *moe* 'my' n sg, *moa* 'my' f sg, *čio* 'whose' n sg, *taa* 'she' fem sg, etc. (Poreče) (Vidoeski 1950: 30). In some dialects in southern Macedonia this process has already been completed, while in other places it is still continuing to be stabilized.

The loss of intervocalic *v* has occurred over a more limited area than the loss of intervocalic *j*, but has advanced more thoroughly. In the western dialects of Macedonian, with the exception of Mala Reka and the Torbeš Reka dialect, it has been lost in particular vocalic groups, most often in contact with *o* and most completely in words with three or more syllables. In the central dialects in the Ohrid–Prespa region, the posited location of the source of this phenomenon, the loss of *v* was quite advanced by the eighteenth century (Seliščev 1933: 11). The stabilization of this phenomenon, however, continued later, and in some cases was completed only in recent times. Today this phenomenon can be followed along the zone bordering the western and the eastern dialect regions and where the western and northern dialects come in contact. There are also individual cases of morphemes with the loss of *v* in the Tikveš dialect, e.g., *práam* 'make', *ostáam* 'leave', *čúam* 'save, protect', all 1 sg pres (Filipovski 1952: 15). The process is proceeding especially quickly in the northern dialects which have stress fixed on the penultimate syllable. In the dialects of Skopska Crna Gora examples without *v* are not uncommon, e.g., *ǩe praim* '[I] will make', *ostaeno* 'left', *bozójna* 'elder', *čoečkó-meso* 'human flesh', but *osnóva* 'basis', *napravíle* 'make' *l*-participle pl, *volóvi* 'oxen', *varívo* 'vegetable' in dialects with stress on the penultimate syllable.

There are also a significant number of examples of the loss of *v* in the dialect of Sretečka Župa in the Prizren group in Serbian linguistic territory, which also has stressed fixed on the penultimate syllable e.g., *rukájca* 'glove', *vóloi* 'oxen' (Pavlović 1939: 96). The area with the loss of intervocalic *v* coincides closely with the area with antepenultimate stress, with the exception of two areas in the Debar region.

Other consonants lost in a wide area include *d*, e.g., *vojca (vodica)* 'water', *gleaš (gledaš)* 'look' 2 sg pres, *sejt (sedit)* 'sit' 3 sg pres, *prodajt (prodadit)* 'sell' 3 gs pres, *izjam (izedam)* 'eat up' 1 sg pres (Debar region), *lujte (ludite)* 'crazy' adj pl def, *vojčka (vodička)* 'water' hyp (Kukuš region). Examples with the loss of *d* can be found in almost all western dialects, the Tikveš-Mariovo region and in all the southern dialects in the direction Kostur-Solun-Kukuš. The loss of *d* in numbers (*dvaeset, dvajse* 'twenty') and verbs (*dajš* 'give' 2 sg pres, *vijš* 'see' 2 sg pres) is especially common in this area.

The consonants *ž*, *s*, *t*, *k*, *g* are lost in separate lexemes and mostly in the western dialects, e.g., *lajca (lažica)* 'spoon', *moeš (možeš)* 'able' 2 sg pres (Poreče), *nojci (nožici)* 'scissors', *lăjš (lăžiš)* 'lie' 2 sg pres, *lijš (ližiš)* 'lick' 2 sg pres, *striš (strižiš)* 'cut' 2 sg pres (Dojran), *flejš (fleziš)* 'enter' 2 sg pres, *lojšta (lozišta)* 'vineyards' pl (Kukuš), *préečet* 'slice', (Kičevo), *pojčam* *(posečam)* 'cut', (Prespa), *ojdof* 'leave' 1 sg aor, *koa* 'when', *sea* 'now', (Debar), *preska (preǵeska)* 'earlier', *zeam (zemam)* 'take' 1 sg pres, etc.

The process of the loss of the phoneme /x/ which began in the seventeenth century in the northern and central dialects, continues to this day. From its source in the northern regions, it has spread in all directions and advanced markedly in the last two centuries. Presently in the western dialects, /x/ has the status of a phoneme with a very limited distribution in both the urban Ohrid dialect and in two oases in central Macedonia—in the village of Smilevo in the Bitola region and Vranovci and Melnica in the Veles region, whose inhabitants arrived from Debar no earlier than the end of the seventeenth century. Its phonetic position is more stable only in the southeastern dialects east of the Kočani–Gevgelija–Voden line, where it is still well preserved at the end of the syllable. However, in initial and intervocalic positions, it is lost entirely and in some local dialects it is in the phase of disappearing (Lagadina, Serez, Goce Delčev).

In connection to *x*, there is yet another phenomenon especially important for the differentiation of the dialects—its replacement with *v (f)* at the end of the word and in consonant clusters, e.g., *gref* 'sin', *bef/bev* 'was' 1 sg aor, *bevme/befme* 'were' 1 pl aor. This characteristic is found only in the western dialects and is regular in dialects with stress on the antepenultimate syllable. The process itself can be followed from the end of the seventeenth century forward. In the Mala Reka dialect at the beginning of the nineteenth century, *x* was still well preserved at the end of the syllable, e.g., *nixno* 'theirs', *zdixna* 'take a breath' 3 sg aor, *nix* 'them', *strax* 'fear', *siromax* 'poor', *bex* 'was' 1 sg aor, *dojdoxme* 'arrive' 1 pl aor, but *arno* 'well', *ubaf* 'beautiful', *rana* 'wound', *izedoe* 'eat up' 3 pl aor, in the autobiography of Ǵjurcin Kokale (Belić 1935: 313). Already in the works of Pulevski and Ǵinovski from the last decade of the nineteenth century, written also in the dialect of Mala Reka, *v* and *f* are used regularly instead of *x* in this position (Belić 1935: 120–21). The change of *x* to *v/f* can be followed even more easily in the dialect of Ohrid, where the process is still not complete, e.g., *nixno* 'theirs', *grex* 'sin', *meh* 'belly' but *čeli* 'shoes', *gra* 'bean' vs. *bolfa* 'flea', *oref* 'walnut', and regularly *bef* 'was', 1 sg impf, *befme* 'were' 1 pl impf, *befte* 'were' 2 pl impf.

Of the phonetic phenomena that have left visible traces on the dialectal differentiation of Macedonian and changes completed during the period under consideration, one should mention the metathesis of the sequence *ni* > *in* in polysyllabic words, e.g., *vodénica* > *vodéinca* (later, *vodéjnca*) 'watermill'.

Today this phenomenon is limited to the whole of the western linguistic periphery, but only in areas with antepenultimate stress.

In this period, in the field of grammar the horizontal shift of older innovations and the stabilization of unfinished phenomena are relevant. Thus for example, the analytic expression of the dative for personal names covers a greater area and shifts the border of the synthetic dative to the west. In the Prilep dialect, dative forms of the type *Atanasu, Nikolu, Sabotku, Jankulu, bratu,* or *Cvete, majke,* or in the possessive function *čedo Atanasu* 'child of Atanas', which were a productive category at the end of the eighteenth century, are extremely unusual today (Seliščev 1933: 225–26). The isogloss has retreated in the east to the Kruševo–Brod–Matka line. At the end of the eighteenth century in the Prilep dialect the article form *-ot* dominated for the masc gender, e.g., *lagot* 'lie' def sg, *kovačot* 'blacksmith' def sg, and the 3 pres ended in *-t*, e.g., *sedit* 'sit', more rare are examples without *-t* (Seliščev 1933: 229). Koneski however noted the dominance of the article form *-o* (Koneski 1949: 286). Also forms without *-t* in present tense are dominant. In the twentieth century in the same dialect, the process of the disintegration of *e*-group verbs was completed, which was quite advanced by the end of the eighteenth century. At the beginning of the twentieth century, D. Mirčev noted forms like *pieš* 'drink' 2 sg pres, *pie* 'drink' 3 sg pres, which are unusual today. These types of verbs were transferred to the *a*-group, e.g., *pijaš, pija.* The situation is similar in the Ohrid urban dialect where in the same way, verbs ending in *-i* have been transferred to the *a*-group, e.g., *spijaš* 'sleep' 2 sg pres, *spija* 'sleep' 3 sg pres. In Daniil's dictionary (end of eighteenth century) these verbs belonged to the *e*-group: *pieš*. In the Ohrid dialect the process of the stabilization of the ending *-et* in the 3 pl pres can be followed, e.g., *vike:t* 'call', *nose:t* 'carry'. At the end of the eighteenth century, forms in *-at* dominated, e.g., *se jadat* 'eat', *rabotat* 'work', *imaat* 'have', and even *sedaat* 'sit', *nosaat* 'carry', *idaat* 'go', along with *sakaet* 'want, love', *slušaet* 'listen' (Kristophson 1974). Today in the urban Ohrid dialect and in the dialect of the lake-shore villages in the 3 pl there is the generalized ending *-e:t*, e.g., *vike:t* 'call', *nose:t* 'carry', *bere:t* 'collect', which came about phonetically with the contraction of the vocalic sequence *-ae-* > *e:*, e.g., *(vikaet* > *vikeet* > *vike:t)*, and later moved to the *i*-group, e.g., *nose:t, bere:t.* In the Debarca dialect and in the central villages in the Ohrid region only verbs of the *a*-group end in *-e:t*, while others take the ending *-at*, e.g., *vike:t* 'call', *ime:t* 'have', but *nosat* 'carry', *mol'at* 'beseech', *sečat* 'cut', *jadat* 'eat'.

In the last two to three centuries constructions with *ḱe* of the type *ḱe dojdeše*, future in the past; *ḱe dojdel/došol*, indef future in the past; *ḱe beše dojdel/došol*, indef future in the past; and the use of *ima* as an auxiliary verb (*ima dojdeno*, pres of *ima* plus the *-n/-t-* part form; *imaše dojdeno*, impf of *ima* plus the *-n/-t*-part form; *imal dojdeno*, *l*-part of *ima* plus the *-n/-t*-part form) as well as forms of the type *sum (bev, sum bil) dojden*, have completely stabilized in the south and west. Presently, in the northern and eastern dialects, constructions with *sum* and *ima* + part are productive both morphologically and semantically. In the northern and in a part of the western dialects the process of the morphemic restructuring of the forms of the type *teše/ḱeše da odi* through *ḱeše odi* to the *ḱe odeše* type can be followed easily.

Those innovations that developed in more recent times, generally in the last two centuries, form a separate group. The majority of such innovations arose as the consequences of the loss of consonants in intervocalic positions, therefore they are limited geographically to territory where such loss occurred. These phenomena predominately affect vocalism.

With the loss of consonants, there were created new vocalic sequences of two identical or different vowels that had been, until then, unusual in the structure of the word. In sequences with the same vocalic phonemes in some areas, for example in the northern dialects, the hiatus was resolved with the epenthesis of *v*, e.g., *snaxa* > *snava* 'sister-in-law, daughter-in-law', *imaxa* > *imava* 'had' 3 pl impf. But on the greater part of the linguistic territory, the result was contraction, which yielded new phonetic lengths, phonologically relevant in some dialects, e.g., *aa* > *a:* – *glava* > *glaa* > *gla:* 'head', *snaha* > *snaa* > *sna:* 'sister-in-law, daughter-in-law', *odaja* > *odaa* > *oda:* 'room'; *ee* > *e:* – *nevesta* > *neesta* > *ne:sta* 'bride', *preǵeska* > *preeska* > *pre:ska* 'earlier'; *ii* > *i:* – *zmiji* > *zmii* > *zmi:* 'snakes'; *oo* > *o:* – *progovori* > *progóori* > *progó:ri* 'speak up', *groxot* > *groot* > *gro:t* 'roar', *Radoxožda* > *Radóožda* > *Radó:žda*. Vowels in the root morpheme and at the border with the suffixes and inflectional morphemes were liable to contract, since consonants were often lost at this part of the word. At morpheme boundaries with prefixes the old relations continued, e.g., *zaaka* < *za* + *aka* 'begin to roam', *poora* < *po* + *ora* 'plough a little', *priima* < *pri*+*ima* 'accept'.

Much more complicated are the processes that occurred in individual dialects in newly-formed sequences of two dissimilar vowels. In such sequences in the northern dialects, the direct contact of vowels was resolved through hiatus, e.g., *pauk* > *pavuk* 'spider', *soà (soxa)* > *sova* 'oar lock', *naoǵa* >

navoǵa 'located' 3 sg pres, *dojdoa* > *dojdova* 'arrive' 3 pl aor, *kia (kiha)* > *kiva* 'sneeze' 3 sg pres, *čia (čija)* > *čiva* 'whose' fem sg, *gluo* > *gluvo* 'deaf', *jua (juxa)* > *juva* 'soup', *mua (muxa)* > *muva* 'fly, insect', *strea (strexa)* > *streva* 'eaves', *lea (lexa)* > *leva* 'flower bed'. Thus, the northern dialects maintained the distribution of vowels found in an earlier period.

Also, in several of the more southern dialects too, the hiatus in the newly formed vowel sequences was resolved with the insertion of *v* and *j*, but in limited positions, and in some places, even in a limited number of cases: *v* appeared mainly in the groups with *u* as the first part of the sequence in a rather widespread area in the direction Skopje–Veles–Prilep–Bitola–Lerin–Kostur and in the western area from Kostur and Korča to Debar, e.g., *muva* 'fly, insect', *suvo* 'dry' adv, and on a narrow band of the Skopje–Veles region and also in other sequences in the 3 pl impf, e.g., *dojdova* 'arrive', *imava* 'have', *noseva* 'carry'. Hiatic *j* appeared in the sequences where one of the components of the groups was the vowel *e*, e.g., *dvajeset* 'twenty', *gojedo* 'cattle', *čojek* 'man', *izeješ* 'eat' 2 sg, *streja* 'eaves', *beja* 'were' 3 pl impf, and occasionally after *i*, e.g., *bijol* 'water buffalo'. This is the situation in some of the local dialects in the Kičevo–Poreče and the Skopje dialectal regions. In some of these dialects, in the 3 pl of the aor and impf, the *j* produced in this way was generalized for all verbs and became a part of the ending, e.g., *vikaja* 'call', *sošija* 'sew', *dojdoja* 'come', *bęja* 'were' (Ohrid), *viknája* 'call', *zgrešija* 'err', *nuséja* 'carry', *sičéja* 'cut' (Čegan-Voden).

Different processes developed on other territories where vocalic groups with dissimilar vowels arose. Sequences with *i* as the second component formed diphthongs, since the vowel *i* in this position, when not at a morpheme boundary with a prefix, lost its syllabic quality. In this way the diphthongs *ej*, *aj*, *oj*, *uj* developed, e.g., *čirei* > *čirej* 'ulcer' pl, *snai* > *snaj*, *glai* > *glaj* 'head', *kukaica* > *kukajca* 'coward', *laica (lažica)* > *lajca* 'spoon', *leboi* > *leboj* 'loaves of bread', *poloina* > *polojna* 'half', *moi* > *moj* 'my' pl, *kožui* > *kožuj* 'sheepskin coat' pl *mui* > *muj* 'flies', *bogoroica (bogorodica)* > *bogorójca* 'Virgin Mary'. This innovation spread to all the dialects of Macedonian, but is especially widespread in the western and southern dialects, where such vowel groups apear most often.

In some dialects, the vowel *i* was also desyllabized in the sequences where it appeared as the first component. Thus, in the Struga dialect the groups *ia*, *io* yielded rising diphthongs *ja*, *jo*, e.g., *súdia* > *súdja:* 'judge', *rákia* > *ráḱja:* 'brandy' (later also *raḱa*), *Mária* > *Márja:* 'Maria', *lošiot* > *lošjot* 'bad' def, *negóviot* > *negóvjot* 'his' def. To a limited degree, the same process can be followed in some locations in the Gevgelija region, e.g., *istórja* 'history', *Makedónja* 'Macedonia', *ubávjut* 'beautiful' def (Stojakovo village). In this way, the new *j* in article masc forms later spread in the form *-jot* (and *-jut* in the dialects having reduction) in all eastern dialects along the Kratovo–Štip–Strumica–Kukuš–Solun and the Solun–Voden–Kajlar lines.

In some of the local dialects in the western periphery of the central regions, diphthongs of this type yielded sequences with *e*, which were also desyllabized in the same manner. In the Prilep dialect, the groups *ae* > *aj*, *oe* > *oj*, e.g., *klaenec* > *klajnec* 'spring, source', *dvaese* > *dvajse* 'twenty', *goedo* > *gojdo* 'cattle', *tr̥goec* > *tr̥gojc* 'merchant' (Koneski 1949: 254), also *jazojc* 'badger', *ne mojše (možeše)* 'could not' 3 sg impf, *ojše (odeše)* 'go' 3 sg impf, *gojdo* 'cattle', *zaborajno* 'forgotten', *kabajt* 'guilt, blame', *pojli (poveli)* 'if you please' 2 sg imv, *pojčam (posečam)* 'cut' 1 sg, *čojk (čovek)* 'man' in the Prespa dialect. This phenomenon is found across a wide belt in western and southern Macedonia in the adv *pojḱe (poveḱe)* 'more', and in numbers, while in the verbal adv *j* was generalized on the entire central linguistic zone, e.g., *vikáeḱi* > *viká:jḱi* 'calling'.

In the Struga dialect and in some Ohrid villages *e* > *j* also in the sequences *-ea-*, *-eo-*, e.g., *strea* > *strja*, *nea* > *nja* 'she' acc, *bea* > *bja* 'be' 3 pl impf, *gleaš* > *gljaš* 'watch', 2 sg pres, *Petreo* > *Petrjo* 'Peter's', *čereo* > *čerjo* 'gut'. In other dialects, as will be seen, vocalic groups with *e* yielded different results.

Concerning diphthongs created by the desyllabization of front vowels, it should be emphasized that in dialects with stress on the penultimate syllable diphthongs are long as a rule and contain two morae. This is also confirmed by the fact that the accent is maintained on the same syllable, e.g., *poló:jna – poló:jnata* 'half', *sinó:te* 'sons', *sudjá:ta – súdja* 'judge', *dvaná:jse* 'twelve', *viká:jḱi* 'calling'. This is also the case with length from the contraction of two geminate vowels, e.g., *Radó:žda (< Radoožda)*. In the Tetovo dialect length was then shortened, which also caused changes in the place of accent, e.g., *vólojte* 'oxen' pl def, *óstajte* 'stay' 2 pl pres, *víkajḱi* 'calling', *pólojna* 'half'.

In the Ohrid–Prespa area the vowel *o* was also desyllabized in the sequences *oa, oe*. In this position *o* > *v*, e.g., *toar* > *tvar* 'load', *toa* > *tva* 'that' neut sg, *búkoa* > *búkva:* 'beech' adj fem sg, *dójdoa* > *dójdva:* 'come' 3 pl aor (Peštani), *goedo* > *gvedo* 'cattle', *čoek* > *čvek* 'man', *jazoec* > *jazvec* 'badger', *otidoe* > *otidve:* 'leave' 3 pl aor (Struga). The change of *o* to *v* , which surely proceeded through the intermediary of a nonsyllabic *u̯* (*čoek* > *ču̯ek* > *čvek* 'man') is limited to the Struga dialect and several of the villages along the shore of Lake Ohrid (Peštani, Trpejca, Ljubaništa). And in a few examples, it can be found in the villages on the western shore of Lake Prespa.

In the majority of dialects, vocalic sequences with dissimilar vowels were assimilated and contracted to long vowels. One can follow such processes most easily on the southwestern periphery and in some of the Lower Vardar dialects.

In the Kukuš–Dojran area, and in part in the Strumica, Gevgelija, and Enidže Vardar regions, assimilation affected nearly all vocalic groups and was completed according to the first member of the group. Thus we have: *ia* > *i:* – *miam* > *mi:m* 'wash' 1 sg pres, *piat* > *pi:t*, 'drink' 3 sg pres, *tia* > *ti:* 'they' pl; *ie* > *i:* – *piene* > *pi:ne* 'drinking', *ubien* > *ubi:n* 'killed' masc sg, *rie* > *ri:* 'dig' 3 sg pres; *ea* > *e:* – *peam*> *pe:m* 'sing' 1 sg pres, *dujdéa* > *dujde:* 'come' 3 pl aor, *nea* > *ne:* 'she' acc; *eo* > *e:* – *čeloto* > *čéolto* > *če:lto* 'forehead' def; *ae* > *a:*, *lae* > *la:* 'bark' 3 sg pres; *oe* > *o:* – *moe* > *mo:* 'my' n sg, *koe* > *ko:* 'which' n sg; *oa* > *o:* – *toa* > *to:* 'it, this' n sg, *kroam* > *kro:m* 'cut' 1 sg pres, *vodata* > *voata* > *vo:ta* 'water' def; *ua* > *u:* – *mua* > *mu:* 'fly', *suata* > *su:ta* 'dry' adj sg f def, *obuam* > *obu:m* 'put on shoes' 1 sg pres, *duovdén* > *duudén* > *du:dén* 'spiritural' (Peev 1979).

In the western dialect region it is the sequence *ao* that is most often assimilated with the result *oo* > *o*, i.e., assimilation was completed according to the second member, e.g., *ubao* > *uboo* > *ubo:* 'beautiful' adj sg n. This type of contraction most often involved adjectives ending in *-av(o)*, but also involved adjectival formation in *-ovo*, of the type *bukovo* > *bukoo* > *buko:* 'beech' adj, neut sg. This type of assimilation is characteristic of the dialects in the Poreče, Kičevo, and Prilep regions, but in other contexts the sequence *ao* did not contract to *o*.

In the Ohrid–Prespa region, in most cases, assimilation occurred. The group *ao* > *oo* > *o:* in other positions also, e.g., *jaor* > *jo:r* 'maple', *ǵaol* > *ǵo:l* 'devil', *blaosof* > *blo:sof* 'blessing'. Assimilation in favor of the second member of the sequence was also completed in other groups in the Prespa region: *eo* > *oo* > *o:*, e.g., *neol'a*, *no:l'a* 'trouble', *Smileo* > *Smil'o:* 'Smilevo (village)'; *oe* > *ee* > *e:*, *čoek* > *čeek* > *če:k* 'man'; *ae* > *ee* > *e:*, *zaek* > *ze:k* 'rabbit', *zaedno* > *ze:dno* 'together' adv. In the Ohrid region too, the vowel *a* was assimilated to *e* in the sequence *ae*, e.g., *napráeno* > *napré:no* 'made' part neut sg, *vikaet* > *vike:t* 'call' 3 sg. The length of *e* in the ending *-et* then spread to all verbs, e.g., *bere:t* 'gather', *nose:t* 'carry'. But assimilation in favor of the first member of the group also occurred in the Ohrid region. This is the case for the group *oa* which yielded *o:*, e.g., *Joan* > *Jo:n*, *osnoa* > *osno:*

'basis', *koač > ko:č* 'blacksmith', *toar > to:r* 'load', *soal'ka > so:l'ka* 'shuttle', *dojdoa > dojdo:* 'come' 3 pl impf and also *Naum > No:m*, *Naumče > No:mče*.

The new length in the above-mentioned dialects became an important factor phonetically, and in some dialects, even phonologically, as for example, in the Dojran region, from which we can list several minimal pairs, e.g., *mi:* (*mie*, 'wash' 3 sg pres) and *mi* (dative of *jas* 'I'), *tri:* (*trie* 'rub' 3 sg pres) and *tri* ('three'), *me:sto* (*mesoto* 'meat' def) and *mesto* 'place', *ma:sta* (*masata* 'table' def) and *masta* def (*mast* 'fat'), *do:* (*doe* 'suckle') and *do* (preposition), *mu:* (*mua* 'fly') and *mu* (pronoun). Therefore, with the advent of new length in this dialect, the number of vocalic phonemes in accented position doubled, as quantity became a distinctive feature.

In the central dialects during the past two centuries, new vocalic phonemes also arose from the contraction of vocalic groups that had not previously undergone complete assimilation. Thus in the Prilep dialect the sequences *oa > å* ("wide" *o*), *ea > ä* ("wide" *e*), e.g., *lea > lä* 'garden bed', *peat > pät* 'sing' 3 pl pres, *smea > smä* 'laugh' 3 pl (cf. *sme* 'are' 1 pl from *sum*); *koač > kåč* 'blacksmith', *osnoa > osnå* (Koneski 1949: 256). In this way, the inventory of vocalic phonemes increased by two in the Prilep dialect. The phonetic process progressed through the formation of diphthongal sounds $ea > e^a$, $oa > o^a$ and ceased at this phase in several villages in the Kruševo and Kičevo regions.

An important characteristic of the dialectal vocalic systems is the elimination of vowels in clitics when the word begins with a vowel, e.g., *da oda > d-óda* '[I] shall go', *ḱe odam > ḱ-ódam* '[I] will go', *me istepa > m-ístepa* 'beat me', *go ostaj > g-óstaj* 'left him', *g-údri* 'hit him', *ne izede > n-ízede* '[s/he] ate us', *v-ízlaga* 'deceived you', *ne umira > n-úmira* 'it is killing us', *na orańe > n-órańe* 'at a plouging', *za inaet > z-ínaet* 'out of spite, for spite', *po ubo: > p-úbo* 'in a fine way', or in cases like *ušt-édnaš* 'once again', *št-úbo:* 'how beauiful', *dobr-útro, dobr-utru* 'good morning' (all examples are from the Poreče dialect). This phenomenon is especially widespread in the dialects with fixed stress. This feature is not found in texts written before the nineteenth century, which does not necessarily mean that it is of recent origin.

Regarding consonantism, new innovations include: velarization of *l* at the end of the syllable and its replacement with *v (f)*, palatalization of *k* and *g* before front vowels, the change of the groups *jn* and *nj* to *ń* and of *kj* to *ḱ*, anticipatory "softness" for *ḱ, ǵ (> jḱ, jǵ)*, the processes connected with the groups *št, žd*, the simplification of some consonantal groups, etc. In syllable-final position, *l* was velarized in the Kratovo and Meglen regions, and in a part of the Ohrid and Tetovo dialects, in the Prespa region and in several villages in the Tikveš region, resulting in bilabial [u̯] as an allophone of the velar /ł/, e.g., *kou̯* 'pole', *dou̯* 'valley', *dou̯če* 'valley' dim, but *dolot* 'valley' def. In all of these dialects the process is quite advanced and its spread can be followed both generationally and geographically. It is in the initial phases in several villages in Skopska Blatija. In the dialect of the Muslims of the Tetovo region in Jelovjane and Urvič, *l* has changed to *v (f)* in this position, e.g., *ravnik (ralnik)* 'ploughshare', *săvza (sălza)* 'tear', *petef (petel)* 'rooster', and this process is complete (Vidoeski 1973: 27). In the dialect of several villages near Bitola (Bukovo, Orehovo) the articulation of the velar *l* is retracted toward the pharyngeal cavity and is pronounced as a voiced glottal fricative close to *j*, e.g., *γakto (lakto)* 'elbow', *sγama (slama)* 'straw' (Koneski 1983).

The palatalization of the velars *k, g* before front vowels, especially before *i*, is quite widespread in the dialects along the Vardar in the direction Tetovo–Veles, where the process has advanced the most. It is weaker in intensity in the Kratovo and Maleševija regions, in numerous isolated locations in the Ohrid, Prespa and Bitola regions, in the Kostur–Lerin region, and in a limited number of cases in the Solun region. In the dialects of Tetovo and Veles *k, g* especially before *i* have changed to *ḱ, ǵ*, e.g., *ruḱe* 'hands', *noǵe* 'legs' (in Tetovo) and *seḱira* 'axe', *raḱija* 'brandy', *laǵi (lagi)* 'lies, falsehoods' (in the Veles region). In the southwestern dialects, palatalization has progressed to a lesser degree, e.g., *sek'ira, k'itka* 'bouquet' (Ohrid).

The change of the group *kj* to *ḱ* in in the Struga dialect is a direct consequence of the desyllabisation of *i*, e.g., *rakia > rakja > raḱa* 'brandy'. In the eastern dialect, the phenomenon is limited only to the masc articled forms of adjectives, e.g., *visókiot > visókjot > visóḱot* 'high' masc sg def, also *nisḱo* 'low' (Dojran), *visóḱut, jaḱut* 'strong' (Kukuš), *leḱut* 'light', *sičḱut* 'whole', *dlabóḱut* 'deep', *nisḱut* 'low', *jaḱut* (the village of Ambar Ḱoj, Kukuš region). In the dialect of Gumendža, the element *-ḱut* has begun to take the place of *-jut*, e.g., *slepḱut (slepiot)* 'blind', *nečísḱut* 'dirty', and after a voiced consonant *slábǵut* 'weak', *zdrávǵut* 'healthy' *(slabiot, zdraviot)*. The process whereby phonetic phenomena can be morphologized is illustrated also by examples from the dialect of Debar, e.g., *snopḱe* 'bundle', *nivǵe* 'fields', *kolǵe* 'poles' where the elements *-ḱ, -ǵ* are introduced by analogy with *cveḱe* 'flower', *livaǵe* 'meadows'.

The shift *nj > ń* is limited to the territory of Poreče, e.g., *vujna > vuńa* 'aunt', *vońik* 'soldier', *Stońa* proper name, *polóńa (polojna)* 'half', *volóńe* *(volojne)* 'oxen', *ońa (< ojna < onja)* 'they'. In this dialect, where *ń* is still well preserved, the cluster *jn* is impossible (Vidoeski 1950: 20). In the Kratovo dialect, the group *nj* is palatalized to *ń* in articled forms of adjectives, e.g., *cr̥nio(t) > cr̥njo(t) > cr̥ńo(t)* 'black', and *zeleńo* 'green', *cr̥veńo* 'red', all definite etc. (Vidoeski 1952: 64).

Interesting phenomena in the dialects of Macedonian are connected to the phonemes *ḱ* and *ǵ*. In the majority of dialects, the dephonologization process has begun. In the dialects of Prilep and Struga, instead of *ḱ, ǵ* the younger generation pronounce *č, ǯ* or the clusters *jč, jǯ* with anticipatory palatality, e.g., *če* future marker, *čotek* 'beating', *kujča* 'house', *strejča*, 'happiness', *brajča* 'brothers', *domajčin* 'host', *luǯe/lujǯe* 'people' (Struga), *če, cvejče* 'flower', *lujǯe* 'people', besides *svajḱa* 'wedding guests', *vejǵa* 'eyebrows', and *veḱe* 'already', *noḱ* 'night', *meǵa* 'border marker', *gaǵa* '(take) aim at', most often in the speech of the older generation. The material from the Prilep dialect shows the direction in which this process is moving. In the first phase, palatality is realized as separate palatal phonemes: *kuḱa > kujḱa*. The southern dialects of Macedonian along the Lerin–Voden–Solun–Kukuš line and the Ohrid region are at this stage of development, e.g., *vrejḱa* 'sack', *kujḱa* 'house', *vejǵa, sajǵi* but *ărǵa* 'rust', *raǵa* 'give birth' (Enidže), *vrujḱina* 'heat', *nuséjḱim*, 'carrying', *vejǵa*, (Lukovec, Voden region), *nojḱ* 'night', *srejḱa* 'happiness, luck', *fajḱa* 'catch' 3 sg pres, *mejǵa* 'border marker', *izvájǵa* 'take out' (Kroncelevo), *cvejḱe* 'flower', *l'ujǵe* 'people' but *viḱe* 'call', *ḱi* future marker, *dumáḱin* 'host', *meǵu* 'among' (Čegan), *vrejḱa* 'sack', *kujḱa* but *braḱa, ḱut* 'character' (Gradobor, Solun region). In the second phase *ḱ > č*, *ǵ > ǯ*, yielding the sequences *jč, jǯ* found in the Kukuš–Dojran region, e.g., *vejǯa* 'eyebrow', *sajǯi* but *raǵa* (Dojran) (Hristov 1936) and even more so in Struga, e.g., *kujča, brajča, l'ujǯe*. In the next phase, *j* is lost in these sequences, e.g., *kuča*. At the beginning of the word, where there is no anticipation, *ḱ* and *ǵ* have changed directly to *č* and *ǯ*, e.g., *če, ǯon* 'sole'.

In connection with the phonemes *ḱ* and *ǵ*, a phenomenon, which is not phonetic in nature, should be mentioned. In most dialects in the southern and western peripheries, where the so-called new iotation of the groups *tj, dj* (from **tъj, *dъj*) was not completed, one finds the sequences *tḱ, dǵ*, e.g., *bratḱa* 'brothers', *livadǵe*, besides *bratja, livadje*, or *braḱa, livaǵe*. Such pronunciation is maintained on the entire central region from Tetovo to Ohrid and Prespa, and the group *tḱ* is found in the Lower Vardar dialects in the south and the dialect of Berovo in the east. The geographical diffusion itself leads one to conclude that the intersection of two isoglosses is located here: *bratja* >

braḱa > *bratḱa*, *ȯgradje* > *ograǵe* > *ȯgradǵe* ‘fences’. At the same time, however, the morphological factor could be active here—the need to confirm the common phonetic shape of all forms of the lexemes in question: *brat-ø*, *brat-ot*, *brat-ḱa*; *livad-a*, *livad-i*, *livad-ǵe*. This is also confirmed by the fact that the pronunciation *ludǵe* is not found anywhere, since there is no singular form.

In many dialects the change of *t* to *č*/*ḱ* and of *d* to *ǯ*/*ǵ* in the sequences *št*, *žd* is still not settled. This is an active process in the urban dialects in Prilep, Dojran, Štip, Berovo, Delčevo, and Kratovo, and is already stabilized in Mala Reka and Ohrid urban dialect as well as in southwestern Macedonia in the direction Korča–Kostur–Kajlar–Voden to Bitola and Crna in the Mariovo part in the north. In the contact zone between the *št*/*žd* and *šč*/*žǯ* dialects in the Ohrid–Struga region, the pronunciation *šḱ*/*žǵ* dominates, e.g., *vrešḱa* ‘sack’, *mežǵa* ‘border marker’ (Peštani), *ognišḱe* ‘hearth’, *glužǵo*, ‘ankle, nod’ pl (Ramne) but *guščer* ‘lizard’, *dožǯot* or *dožot* ‘rain’ def (Ohrid), *gušter*, *doždot* (Debarca). In the urban Struga dialect, both *šč*/*ž(ǯ)* and *šḱ*/*žǵ* are heard, e.g., *ščica*, *šḱica* ‘plank, board’, with the difference that the latter *(šḱ/žǵ)* is dominant in the speech of the younger generation. The sequence *šḱ* in separate lexemes is also maintained in the dialect of Gumendža, e.g., *šḱica*, *gušḱer* but *peštera* ‘cave’, *prežda* ‘yarn’. The pronunciation *šḱ*/*žǵ* is not recorded in texts from the Struga region from the nineteenth century.

Processes affecting consonantal groups that developed as a result of syllabic metathesis and elision of vowels in the Lower Vardar dialects are also most certainly of recent origin. It is well known that in dialects with strong reduction, the vowel before the article morpheme *-ta*, *-to*, *-te* is often metathesized, e.g., *vodata* > *voadta* > *(voatta)* ‘water’, *kozite* > *koizte* ‘goats’, or the vowel directly in front of these morphemes may even be elided, e.g., *ženata* > *ženta* ‘woman’, *poleto* > *pol’to* ‘field’. As a consequence of these phenomena, new sequences of consonants, either geminate or different, developed. In place of geminate consonants, in this case only *t*, length appears, e.g., *vodata* > *voadta* > *voatta* –*vo:t:a* ‘water’. In those cases where the consonants are different, the consonants remain if such distribution is allowed in the microsystem of the given dialect, e.g., *kozata* > *koazta* > *koasta* – *ko:sta* ‘goat’, *kozite* > *koizte* > *kojste* ‘goats’, *ženata* > *žeanta* > *že:nta* ‘woman’. If a group is created with two or more consonants that can not stand in direct contact, then one is eliminated, e.g., *brazdata* > *braazdta* > *bra:sta* ‘wrinkle’, *testoto* > *testto* > *te:sto* ‘dough’. In cases of the type *brašnoto* ‘flour’, *srebroto* ‘silver’, *iglata* ‘needle’, all def, where we have consonantal sequences with a sonant *(šn, br, gl)*, in some dialects the vowel before the article morphemes is maintained for phonetic reasons, while in others it falls away and a secondary vowel appears before the sonant as compensation, e.g., *iglata* > *iglta* > *i:gălta*, *brašnoto* > *brašnto* > *brášănto*, *strebroto* > *strébărto* 'silver' (Mutulovo–Kukuš region).

Among the most recent grammatical innovations are: the loss of the ending *-t* in the 3 pl pres in the Prilep and Tetovo dialects, e.g., *vikaa* 'call', *nosa/nosaa* 'carry' (Prilep); the changes to aor and impf morphemes conditioned by the loss of *x*; some processes in the 2 pl imp; changes to the verbal adv; and for substantives, the formation of the pl endings *–nišča* and *-ija.* The ending *-enišča* is today in competition with *-ina (< -ińa)* in the Kostur and Korča dialects, e.g., *morjenišča*, *polenišča* (cf. *morje* 'sea', *pole* 'field'), but *-ija* is localized in a single narrow band between Bitola and Prilep, e.g., *pílija*, *prásija* besides *pílina*, *prásina* or *pílijna* 'chicks', *prásijna* 'piglets'. The process followed the path *pilińa* > *pilijna* > *pilina* (with the loss of *j*) or *pilija* (with the loss of nasal *n*).

The loss of the ending in the 3 pl pres suffix *-t* in the Tetovo dialect is a continuation of a phenomenon completed in the northern dialects. However, in Prilep it is a completely new process.

After the loss of *x*, the endings of the aor and impf underwent many changes in the dialects of Macedonian. In dialects where *x* > *v (f)*, or *j* as a regular phonetic process, new endings were formed: *-v (f)* in the 1 sg, *-vme (-fme)*, *-vte (-fte)* in the 1 and 2 pl, e.g., *vikav*, *vikavme*, *vikavte* 'call' impf, *rekov*, *rekovme*, *rekovte* aor, *víkaj*, *vikájme*, *vikájte*, *rékoj*, *rekójme*, *rekójte* (Boboštica). The change of *x* > *v* was completed in the area with antepenultimate stress, *x* > *j* in Korča, where stress is fixed on the penultimate syllable. In those dialects where the change *x* > *ø* in word-final position or before consonants resulted in homonymous forms in the aor and impf in the 1 sg and pl, different processes developed for some verbs. In the eastern dialects with free paradigmatic stress (Kumanovo–Kratovo, Štip–Strumica and the Lower Vardar dialects) homonymy between these two forms was resolved by the place of accent. In the aor the accent regularly falls on the thematic morpheme, while in the impf it is on the root, e.g., aor *viká* (1–3 sg) *vikáme*, *vikáte*, *vikáa* 'call' (cf. impf *víka*, *víkaše*, *víkaše*, 1–3 sg, *víkame*, *víkate*, *víkaa* 1–3 pl). However in these dialects homonymy arose between the impf and the pres for this type of verb, e.g., impf *víka*, *víkaše*, *víkaše*, *víkame*, *víkate*, *víkaa* vs. pres *víkam*, *víkaš*, *víka*, *víkame*, *víkate*, *víkat*. In a large area in the

Kumanovo–Kratovo and Štip regions the ending *-še* spread to the 1 sg impf, therefore the homonymy between the 3 sg pres and 1 sg impf was resolved, e.g., *vika-še* impf 1–3. In the dialect of Kriva Palanka the ending *-še* spread to the impf pl forms too, i.e., it spread to the entire paradigm, e.g., 1–3 sg *víka-še*, pl *víka-šemo, víka-šete, víka-šev* vs. pres *víkamo, víkate, víkav*. In the dialects of Ovče Polje and Štip in the 1 and 2 pl impf after the loss of *x*, the preceding vowel was lengthened as compensation. This phonetic length was then used as a differentiating feature in that the long vowel was broken down into two short ones, one of which became part of the ending. This means that the phonetic process developed: *víkaxme, víkaxte* > *víka:me, víka:te* > *víkaame, víkaate, (vika-ame, vika-ate)* and for verbs of the *e*-group *nósexme, nósexte* and *bérexme, bérexte* > *nóse:me, bére:me* > *nóseeme, béreeme*, and *nóseete, béreete* but pres *nóseme, nósete* and *béreme, bérete* 'carry, wear' and 'gather' respectively. In Radoviš and Strumica *-x* was maintained in the 1 sg, but in the pl, the forms were subjected to the same process, e.g., aor. *orax, orá, orá, oráme, orá(x)te, oráa* vs. impf *órax, óraše, óraame, óraate, óraa* vs. pres *óram, óraš, óra, órame, órate, órat* 'plough' (the village Smolari in the Strumica region). In the Lower Vardar dialects the situation is even more complicated. In the 1 and 2 pl impf, the *x* is preserved in order to avoid homonymy with the pres, but it is lost in the aor, e.g., aor. *gledáx, gledá, gledá, gledáme, gledáte, gledáa* (with reduction, *glidáme, glidáte, glidáa*) vs. impf *glédaxme, glédaxte, glédaa* vs. pres *glédame, glédate, glédat* or *glédime, glédite, glédat* 'watch' (Ambar Ḱoj, Kukuš region); aor *jadéme, jadéte* vs. impf *jádexne, jádexte* (> *jádixne, jádixte* with reduction) vs. pres *jádime, jádite* 'eat' (village Ilidžievo–Enidže Vardar region). In dialects where *x* was lost in the impf too, differentiation between the impf and pres is accomplished by the consonant *k* or *j*, which appeared in place of *x* only in the endings for the impf, e.g., impf *víkak, víkše, víkše, víkakme, víkakte, víkaja* vs. pres *víkam, víkaš, víka, víkme, víkte, víkat* (village Tresino, Meglen region); impf 1–3 sg *víkiše*, pl *víkijme, víkijte, víkija* vs. pres *víkam, víkiš, víke, víkime, víkite, víkat* (cf. aor *vikná–vikname, viknáte, viknája*) (village Strupino). In the dialects of Tikveš–Mariovo and Kostur–Lerin, where stress tends to be maintained on the penultimate syllable, possible homonymy between the pres and impf is resolved by the stress being maintained on the root morpheme in the pres, but moved to the ending in the impf, e.g., pres. *víkame, víkate* vs. impf. *vikáme, vikáte* (villages of Zelenič in the Lerin region and Barovo in the Tikveš region). Here there is no danger of homonymy between the impf and the aor, since the aor always has a different stem—it is formed from perfective verbs only. This means that in these dialects the function of tense for the aor and the impf is resolved through the differentiation of aspect. This too is a recent innovation. Such a tendency exists also in dialects with fixed stress, where there is no formal difference between the aor and impf in the 1 sg and pl pres.

For the verbal adv, the innovation processes are caused, generally, by phonetic changes. As we have already mentioned, the *e* > *j* in a large area in central Macedonia, e.g., *vikaek̄i* > *vikajk̄i* 'calling'. The ending *-jk̄i* has been passed on to other verbs also, e.g., *nosejk̄i* 'carrying', *sečejk̄i* 'cutting'. In some dialects, *j* before palatal *k̄* was then lost so that the element *-k̄i (-k̄e)* is the ending, e.g., *vikák̄i*, *sedék̄i* 'sitting' in the Tikveš dialect, *raboták̄e* 'working', *peék̄e* 'singing', *odék̄e*/*odék̄i* 'going' in Mariovo, *sičéki* 'cutting', *jadék̄i* 'eating', *nusék̄i* 'carrying' in the Lower Vardar group (Gumendža, Enidže Vardar region) and *orák̄e* 'ploughing', *kopák̄e* 'digging' in Poreče. On the periphery, the ending *-ek̄i (-ek̄e)* is still preserved, e.g., *begáek̄i* 'running', *plak̄áek̄i* 'crying' in Kumanovo, *vikáek̄i* 'calling' in Skopska Crna Gora, *vikáek̄i*, *noséek̄i* 'carrying' in Mala Reka, *sakáešti* 'loving, wanting' in Debar, *kopáeščem* 'digging' in Ohrid, *vikáek̄i* in Pirin. In the Maleševo and Pirin dialects a single phonetic form has been generalized for all verbs: *-aek̄i* in Pirin, e.g., *odáek̄i* 'going', *sedáek̄i* 'sitting', *-eek̄i* in Delčevo and Pehčevo, e.g., *vikéek̄i*, *gledéek̄i*, *odéek̄i*.

The majority of the newer innovations, as we have seen, are in the field of phonetics. Here we have noted two tendencies—first, the inclination to simplify the system of consonants. With the loss of *x* there remained only a single pair of velar consonants, and following the loss of the feature of palatality, a series of palatal consonants was eliminated in a number of dialects. Second, the vocalic system was enlarged; in most dialects new phonemes appeared. The system was enriched with two diphthongal sequences—rising and falling. New length became phonologically relevant in some dialects. All of these innovations led also to a change in the structure of the syllable, and the structure of the word as a whole. Geographically, the largest part of the innovations, both phonetically and grammatically, appeared in the western and southern dialects of Macedonian, mostly in the area of linguistic contact between Macedonian and Albanian, Aromanian, and Greek. In recent times, urban centers have become more and more often sources of innovation. The isoglosses of the above-mentioned innovations are for the most part included in the isogloss bundles formed at an earlier time, in the older period of the development of Macedonian.

The goal of this work was to illustrate the more important processes and tendencies which are still active in the dialects of Macedonian, and not to exhaust the inventory of existing phenomena. The phenomena that are in the beginning phase of their development were not discussed here. The number of such phenomena is not insignificant, especially in the larger urban centers where populations from different dialects have concentrated in the post-war period.

The Dialects of Macedonian in Light of Linguistic Geography[*]

1. On Macedonian linguistic territory there are more than three hundred phonetic-phonological and grammatical-structural features, all of which are realized differently in the dialects. Not all of these are equally relevant for the dialectal differentiation of Macedonian, nor for the classification of its dialects. Some of the dialectal features are limited to very small areas, so that their territories cover only a few kilometers. Such features are usually located on the linguistic periphery and are commonly archaisms. This is the case, for example, with nasals in the Kostur and the Bogdansko–Lagadina dialects (*dambja – dămbja* ‘oak grove’, *lendina* ‘lawn’), with the replacement of **y* with *ă* in Visoka (*săn* ‘son’, *băl* ‘was’), the preservation of both *č* in the group **čr̥t-* and the final groups *-st*, *-št* in several dialects of Debar and Kostur regions (*čorf*, *čorpit*, *prišt*, *mast*), palatalization in the 1 sg pres in the dialect of Skopska Crna Gora (*nošu* ‘carry’, *molju* ‘beg, beseech’), or in the participle (*žeńen* ‘married’ masc, sg,), the pronominal forms *soj*, *sogov* ‘this, of this’ possessive, in Boboštica and in the village of Radožda near Struga, remainders of the declension of articles in the dialect of Korča and in some northern peripheral dialects (*starcatogo*, *starcutomu* ‘old man’ def acc dat) and many others.

Other features cover larger areas, but appear on the dialect border zones. These are most often the unfinished, unstable processes of newer linguistic changes. Included here would be, for example, the formation of diphthongs and phonological length in the Ohrid–Prespa region (*to*^{a}*r – to:r* ‘load’, *smea > sme*^{a} *– sme:* ‘laugh’ 3 sg, *maala > ma:la* ‘neighborhood’), the open or closed pronunciation of the mid vowels, the absence (loss) of the phonemes /ǯ/ and /ʒ/, the changes of the vowel groups *oa*, *oe* to *va*, *ve* (*toar > tvar*, ‘load’, *čoek > čvek* ‘man’) and *ia > ja* in the Struga dialect (*Makedonia > Makedonja*), the labio-velarization of hard *l* at the end of the syllable in the Tetovo,

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Ohrid–Resen, and Meglen dialects and in villages in the Maleševo region (*vol* > *vou̯*), the glottal *l* in the village Bukovo in the Bitola region, the palatalization of velar *k* and *g* before front vowels (*sek'ira* 'axe', *lag'i* 'lies') and of the sonants *l*, *n* (*ljeto* 'summer', *ljice* 'face', *kańi* 'invite' 3 sg pres, in the peripheral northern dialects), and the changes that affected verbal groups, the overlapping of conjugation types, e.g., the spread of impf endings for the 1 and 2 pl in the Štip dialect (*noseeme*, *noseete* 'carry'), etc. Linguistic phenomena of these types often do not have unified areas. Therefore they are important, like the features of the first group, for the typology of smaller speech communities.

2. More important for the dialectal differentiation of Macedonian and for the classification of its dialects, are those linguistic phenomena which occur over considerably larger, unified and unbroken areas, as well as features that are fully formed and stable. This chapter examines dialect features of this type. Most of the dialect-differentiating features divide Macedonian territory into two unequal parts. Their isoglosses connect at two different points on the opposite sides of the linguistic periphery. According to the direction of the isoglosses, the features that differentiate the dialects can be separated into two basic groups. One group contains those phenomena whose isoglosses spread from the south to the north (S–N), and from the southwest to the northeast (SW–NE). They originate at various points along the southern linguistic border and exit the northern linguistic border in different areas. Some of them end on the northern border while others continue further into the territory of the bordering Serbian or Bulgarian dialects. The second group of features moves from the east to the west (E–W) and from west to east. They are concentrated mainly in northern Macedonia. On the eastern side, almost all of the isoglosses of the features of this group continue on into Serbian or Bulgarian linguistic territory. Only a few of the isoglosses of this type cross through the central and southern regions of the Macedonian linguistic territory.

3. The isoglosses of the features of the first group (S–N and SW–NE) have three main sources of innovation along the southern linguistic border. Along the Korča–Solun line, the first source of these isoglosses is found south of Lake Prespa. Several dozen isoglosses of phonetic and grammatical features begin here (cf. Map 2 following page 90). The majority of the isoglosses of this group follow the Crna and Vardar river valleys in the form of isogloss bundles. The eastern isoglosses having this orientation are: antepenultimate (fixed) stress (*livada* indef sg, *livádata* 'meadow' def sg, 1)[1], also in accentual units (*ne-mú-reče* '[s/he] did not tell him', *ne-gó-vide* '[s/he] did not see him', *ne-sum-gó-videl* '[I] did not see him', 2); the replacement of *ę with *ǫ after *j* (e.g., contemporary *jatrva* 'sister-in-law', *jačmen* 'barley', *zajak* 'rabbit', and *jătrva*, *jăčmen*, 3); the replacement of the group **ʒvъ* with *ʒu* (*ʒunit*, *ʒunkot* 'buzz', 4); the loss of intervocalic *v* (5); the change of syllable-final *x* to *v* and *f* (*praf* 'powder', *mef* 'belly', *čevli* 'shoes', *bevme* 'be' 1 pl impf, *befte* 'are' 2 pl impf, 6); as well as the change of the spirants *s* (*z*) and *š* before *c*, *č* – again through *x* to *v*/*f* (*krfče* – *krs-t* 'cross' dim, *mafca* – *mas-t* 'fat' dim, *krufče* – *kruša* 'pear' dim, 7–8); the isoglosses of the article forms *-ov* (*lebov* 'this bread', *kuǩava* 'this house', *pilevo* 'this chick', *kuǩive* 'these houses', 9); and *-on* (*lebon*, *kuǩana*, *pileno*, 'that there', 10); synthetic dative for personal pronouns (*mene* 'me', *tebe* 'you', *nemu* 'him', *nejze* – *nezi* 'her', *nam* 'us', *vam* 'you' pl, *nim* 'them', *komu* 'whom', *nekomu* 'someone', *sekomu* 'everyone', 11); the short accusative form *je* (*je vide ženata* '[s/he] saw the woman', 12); the pl pronominal forms *nie*, *vie* (13); demonstrative pronouns *ovoj* – *ovja*, *ova(j)a*, *ova* (14); possessive *nejzin*, *-a*, *-o*, *-i* (15); the ending *-t* in the 3 sg pres (*vikat* 'call', *nosit* 'carry, wear', 16); and *-at* in the 3 pl for *a*-group verbs (*imaat* 'have', *vikaat* 'call', 17); participial form *donesol* (*donesla*, *-lo*, *-le* 'bring', 18); and the use of the preposition *od* with a possessive meaning (*kuǩata od Marka* 'Marko's house' 19).

There is a band of "semi-fixed" stress east and southeast of the Prespa–Vardar line, and farther on, where dialects without fixed stress are located. The mixing of *ę with *ǫ in these dialects did not occur, so that today in place of *ę after *j* there is *e* (*ezik*, 'language, tongue'), except in isolated cases, as for example, *janʒa* 'anxiety, nightmare', which is imported from the western dialects. There are no cases of the group**ʒvъ* changing to *ʒu*. Intervocalic *v* is regularly preserved. On a large area, the phoneme /x/ is preserved (20), and if it is lost at the end of the syllable, it does not change to *v* or *f*. The consonants *s*, *š* before *c*, *č* are either preserved unchanged or changed to *x* (7–8). In the eastern dialects, article forms in *v* or *n* are unknown (9). The dative is expressed analytically (*na mene mi reče* '[s/he] told me', *na nego mu dade* '[s/he] gave me', 11). The short accusative form of the fem personal pronoun is *a* or *ja* (12), the 1 and 2 pl personal pronouns are *ni(j)a*, *vi(j)a* respectively (13), the fem possessive pronoun is *nejn*, *-a*, *-o*, *-i* (without the particle *-zi*,

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[1] Numbers in parentheses following specific features refer to an isogloss on the map indicated (*trans. note*).

(15), and the demonstrative pronouns for near objects are *voj*, *vaa*, *vo(v)a* (14). The pres ending *-t* (16) is lost in all eastern dialects (*nosi* – *nose*, 'carry, wear' *ima* 'have'). Verbs from the *a*-group in the 3 pl end in *-t* (*oni vikaat* 'they call', *imat* 'have', 17). The verb *donese* 'bring' has the *l*-form *donel* (18). The preposition *od* does not serve as a possessive (19).

The western boundary of the reduction of unstressed vowels moves approximately in the same direction (21). Dialects west of the Vardar and Crna rivers and north of the Crna–Prespa line do not have this feature.

4. The Prespa isogloss bundle is compact to the river Pčinja. In the Skopje valley, however, it begins to break apart and the isoglosses diverge in different directions. A certain number of isoglosses pass to the east of the city of Skopje and on to Skopska Crna Gora, for example isoglosses of stress fixed on the antepenultimate syllable (1), the loss of intervocalic *v* (5), article forms in *v* and *n* (9), the dative synthetic pronominal forms (11), and the pronouns *nie* and *vie* (13) and *nejzin* (15).

The isoglosses of the mixing of the nasals (3), the replacement of *x* (6) and *s*, *š* before *c*, *č* to *v* and *f* (7,8), the accusative pronominal form *je* (12), the pres ending *-t* (16), the verb form *donesol* (18), and of the preposition *od* with possessive meaning (19) move from the Vardar river to the Derven canyon from where they turn west and cross the Polog region (between Gostivar and Tetovo) at which point they exit on the western linguistic border.

5. The eastern isoglosses that follow this bundle to the Vardar are: the *casus generalis* form in *-a* for personal names and kinship terms ending in a consonant and in *-o* (*Milana*, *tetina* 'uncle'; *Marka*, *vujka* 'uncle', 22), the ending *-ta* for names ending in *e* (*Petreta*, *tateta* 'father', *vujčeta* 'uncle', 23), demonstrative pronoun forms *ovega* (24), *onega* (25), and *ovoga*, *onoga*, and *ovejzin* – *ovezin* (26), *onejzin* – *onezin* (27). From the Vardar, the isoglosses of these pronoun forms continue to the northeast, cross the Bregalnica river west of Štip and exit the linguistic border east of Kriva Palanka. The isoglosses of the nominal endings *-a* and *-ta* follow approximately the valley of the Bregalnica to Delčevo from where they continue on toward Blagoevgrad. In the eastern dialects these pronominal forms are not used, and the general form is the same as the nominative for all substantives.

6. A number of isoglosses separate from the basic isogloss bundle in the area between Ostrovo (Gk Arnissa) and the Crna river. The isoglosses of prothetic *j* before the reflex of the initial *$*ǫ$* (*jaglen* 'coal', *jatok* 'thread', 28) and of the pronominal adjective *vakov*, *vakva*, *-o*, *-i* 'this' (29), *olkav*, *olkava*, *-o*, *-i* 'so much' (30), *onolkav*, *-a*, *-o*, *-i* 'that much' (31), move toward the northeast, cross the Vardar between Negotino and Demir Kapija, pass through Štip and Radoviš and cross the linguistic border in the Pijanec region. In the eastern and southeastern dialects, *v* appears as a prothetic sound before **ǫ* (*vatok*, *vaglen* 'coal'), while the above-mentioned pronominal forms are either not used at all, or appear sporadically. The isogloss of the sound change *a* to *e* in the lexeme *češa* 'glass, cup' (32) moves approximately in this direction.

7. A small group of a dozen or so isoglosses from the Prespa source moves to the north and the northwest. West of Prilep and Veles it passes the eastern isoglosses of the synthetic dative form for personal names and kinship terms of masc and fem genders (*Markoe – Markove*, *Petretu – Petree*, *Nikolu – Nikoloe*, *strikoe* 'uncle', *tetinu* 'uncle'; *Mari – Mare*, *tetki – tetke* 'aunt', 33), the pronominal-possesive forms *ovejzi – ovejze* 'these' (34), *onejzi – onejze* 'those' (35), *ovegov*, *-a*, *-o*, *-i* 'these' (36), *onegov*, *-a*, *-o*, *-i* 'those' (37), *ovejzin – ovezin* 'these' (38), *onejzin – onezin* 'those' (39), *oviven – ovivni* 'these' (40), *oniven – onivni* 'those' (41). The northern linguistic border comes in contact with the Skopska Crna Gora region. In the dialects of Macedonian east of the Prespa–Skopje line, the dative relation is expressed analytically, with the preposition *na* (*Mu reče na Marka – na Marko, na Mara* '[s/he] told Marko, Mara'). The dative for demonstrative pronouns is also expressed with *na* (e.g., *na ovaa – vaa* 'this', *na onaa* or *naa* 'that', inasmuch as they are used). The demonstrative-possessive pronouns *ovegov*, *onegov*, *ovejzin*, etc., are unusual or even completely unknown in the eastern dialects.

8. Finally there are several features of this group whose isoglosses end in Polog. These are the isoglosses of the changes of the sound group *-ni-* (in multi-syllable words) to *-in- > -jn-* (*vodenica > vodeinca > vodejnca* 'water-mill', 42), the loss of *-m* in the 1 sg for the verb *sum* (*su*, *ne su*, 43), the isoglosses of the use of the aor forms of *sum* (*bif*, *bi*, *bi*, *bifme*, *bifte*, *bija*, 1–3 sg and pl, 44), and participial formations in *-at* for verbs of the type *ženi* (*ženat* 'married', *kanat* 'invited', *stemnat* 'darkened' all masc sg, 45).

9. The second isogloss source on the southern linguistic periphery is located in the Kajlar region, between the mountain Snežnik and Kara Kamen (cf. Map 3 following p. 90). From this point, over thirty isoglosses move in three directions.

The largest part of the isoglosses of the Kajlar source move in the S–N direction. The orientation is characteristic of the western isoglosses: *sav – sam* instead of the old group **svь* (*osamna*, 46), *cav* from **cvь* (*cavti – cavte caftok*, 47), *ca* instead of **cě* (*cal* 'goal', *cana* 'price', *calina* 'a whole', 48), *i* instead of secondary $ъ_2$ before *n* (*ogin* 'fire', 49), the metathesis of the consonant group *zj* > *jz* (*grojze* 'grapes', *lojze* 'vineyard', 50). The grammatical isoglosses are: the personal pronoun *on* 'he' (*ona* 'she', *ono* 'it', *oni* 'they', 51); the clitic form *gi* for the accusative pl (*gi vide decata* '[s/he] saw the children', 52); the form *sa* for the 3 pl pres from *sum* (53); the ending *-m* in the 1 sg pres for *e-* and *i*-group verbs (*nosam* 'carry, wear', *beram* 'choose, gather', 54); the isoglosses of the aor forms of *sum* (*bido – bidoh* 1 sg, *bide* 3 sg, 55); the perfect with auxiliary in 3 sg and pl (*on e imal* 'he had', *oni sa imale – imali* 'they had', 56); the pres from perfective verbs with iterative meaning (57); derived verbal forms of the type *otvara* 'open' (58); the counted pl in *-a* (*dva, pet, pedeset dinara, leba, vola* '2, 5, 50 dinars, loaves of bread, oxen', 59); the preposition *vrz* 'on' (60); *u* in place of the old **vъ* (*Otide u selo* 'went to the village', *u grat* 'to town', 61); the doubling of the preposition *so – sos* (62); the isoglosses of sentence constructions in which the clitic pronoun form cannot stand at the beginning (*Vido go deteto* '[I] saw the child', *Reko mu na deteto* '[I] told the child', 63).

All of these isoglosses come together in a single bundle north of Ostrovo Lake and cross the Mariovo region to the Crna river. On the lower reaches of the Crna river they join the isoglosses from the Prespa source and together they continue along the Vardar valley to the Skopje valley.

One set of the isoglosses from this group turns west from the Skopje valley, passes through the Polog region, and crosses the western linguistic border southwest and northwest of Tetovo. The isoglosses of *sam* or *săm* in place of **svь* (46), *cav – căv* in place of **cvь* (47), *ogin* 'fire' in place of **ognь* (49), the pronoun *on* (51), the verb form *sa* (53), the ending *-m* (54), the preposition *u* (61) and the counted pl in *-a* (59) cross south of Tetovo and the isoglosses of the metathesis of *zj* (50), the verbal imperfective formations of the type *otvara* 'open' (58) and of the preposition *vrz* (60) move to the north of Tetovo.

In the Skopje valley and east of the river Lepenec, five isoglosses separate from this bundle and continue across the linguistic border in the north. Such is the direction for the isoglosses of the iterative from perfective verbs (57), the perfect with auxiliary in 3 sg and pl (56), aor forms from *sum* (55), the postpositive use of clitic pronoun forms (63) and the doubling of the preposition *so* 'with' (62).

Only the isogloss of the value *a* for **ě* after *c* (49) diverges to the northeast—it separates from the basic bundle on the lower reaches of the Crna, passes slightly north of Štip and Kočani and continues across Pijanec to Bulgarian territory.

10. In the dialects located west of this isogloss bundle, in place of the sound groups **svъ* and **cvъ* there is *su* (*osuna*, 46), and *cu* (*cut*, *cutit* – *cuti*, 47), **ě* is replaced by *e* in all positions, even after *c* (*celo* 'whole', *cena* 'price', 48). In place of the secondary $ъ_2$ before *n* there is a back vowel (*a* or *o*, e.g., *ogan*, *ogon* 'fire', 49). The metathesis of *zj* is not found in these dialects (*lozje* 'vineyard', *grozje* 'grapes', 50). *Toj* is used as a personal pronoun in the 3 person (51), and *i* is the short accusative pl form (*i vide decata* '[s/he] saw the children', 52). The 3 pl pres of *sum* is *se* (53). The western dialects do not all have the same ending for the 1 sg pres. In the peripheral dialects from Šar to Kajlar, the ending *-m* is never used in *e-* and *i*-group verbs (*nosa* 'carry', *seča* 'cut', 54). In some of these dialects it is rarely found for *a*-group verbs (*vika* 'call', *skaka* 'jump', *igra* 'dance, play'), and even for the once athematic verbs (*Da ima pari ke ti da*, 'If [I] had money, [I] would give it to you', in place of *imam*, *dam*). On the dialect border zone, forms with *-m* are dominant. It should be emphasized that the ending *-m* for *e-* and *i*-group verbs is also absent in the northern dialects over the entire band from Lepenec to Kriva Palanka and Osogovo mountain. In all western dialects, the auxiliary verb is absent in the past indef tense (*Toj bil* 'he was', *tie bile* 'they were', *rekle* 'said', 56), and the pres perfective is not used at all in the main clause (57). In imperfective forms derived from verbs of the type *otvori* 'open', in these dialects the root vowel does not alternate (cf. *otvora*, *zatvora*, as opposed to the perfective *otvori*, *zatvori*, 58), the preposition *vrz* is not used (60), *so* is not doubled (62), and the old preposition **vъ* appears in the forms *v*, *vo* (61). Clitic pronoun forms can stand at the beginning of the sentence here (*Mu reče na deteto*, *Go vikna deteto*, 63).

The dialects of western Macedonia are connected by two more features whose isoglosses enter the Kajlar bundle. These are the preposition *kon* 'towards' (64) and the diminutive suffix *-ule* (*detule* 'child', *bradule* 'beard', 65). Both of these are absent or are very rare in eastern Macedonia. From Skopje, the isoglosses of these two features move to the east, the first (*kon*) passes north of Tetovo, and the second (*-ule*) to the south.

11. From the Kajlar source certain isoglosses break off in the SW–NE direction: paradigmatic stress on different syllables (66), phoneme /x/ (67), the form *edin* 'one' (in places *adin*, 68) and the pronominal particle *-ze* in the forms of the personal pronouns (*jaze, tize, naze, vaze* etc., 69). The western boundary of the phoneme /x/ goes along the Voden–Štip–Kočani line. The boundary of the particle *-ze* moves in approximately the same direction, while the isogloss of the form *edin* (*adin*) goes slightly to the east (along the Voden–Gevgelija–Delčevo line). The isoglosses cross the Macedonian linguistic border on the area between Delčevo and Kočani. The isogloss of paradigmatic accent continues from Demir Kapija along the left side of the Vardar and enters Skopska Crna Gora east of Skopje. The dialects to the west of this line do not have the phoneme /x/, nor the particle *-ze* for the pronouns mentioned. For all of them, the form *eden* is characteristic.

12. Several of the isoglosses move to the northwest from the Kajlar region: the western isoglosses of the group *cre-* in place of the old group **črě-* (*crevo* 'intestine', *crešna* 'cherry', 70), the ending *-at* in the 3 pl pres (*nosat* 'carry, wear' *vikat* 'call', 71), the aor-impf ending *-a* for the 3 pl (*nosea* 'carry, wear', *imaa* 'have', *rekoa* 'say', 72). Along the western periphery, in place of **črě-* there is *-čere* (*čerevo, čerešna*). In these dialects, the 3 pl pres ending is *-et* (*imaet – imet* 'have', *noset* 'carry, wear', *sečet* 'cut'), in the Kostur dialects the ending *-t* is lost (*ime, nose*), and the 3 pl of the past def tense ends in *-e* (*vikae* 'call', *rekoe* 'say'). The isoglosses of all three of these phenomena have the same direction, they move in parallel and finish north of Debar.

In this part of the Macedonian territory, the border between the deverbative formations with the suffix *-va/-vi*, characteristic for the Kostur–Lerin and the Prespa–Ohrid dialect areas (*zborvat – zborvit* 'speak' and *zborva – zborvi*, 73) and the formations in *-uva*, as well as the boundary of the loss of the *e*-group for verbs whose stems end in a consonant (*seči – sečit* 'cut', *moži – možit* 'can', 74) can all be followed. The isoglosses of the second feature move along the Ostrovo Lake–Prilep–Kičevo–Debar (slightly to the north) direction and the verbal forms of the type *zborva – zborvi* along the Ostrovo Lake–Bigla–Debarca–Debar line.

13. There is a new isogloss source in the southern periphery in the Solun region, more precisely, between the Vardar river and the Lake Lagadina (cf. Map 4 following p. 90).

The isoglosses of this source separate into two directions. One group moves to the east of Solun and across the Razlog region and continues on to

Bulgarian linguistic territory. This direction is characteristic of the western isoglosses of the phoneme /ä/ instead of *ě which may appear in several variants (*l'äp*, 'bread', *ml'äko* 'milk' in Suho, Visoka, *mläko* in Negovan, Razlog, *b'al*, *b'el'i* 'white' in Goce Delčev, 75), *ă/a* in place of the etymological *ъ in root syllables (*dăš* 'rain' in the dialects of Goce Delčev, Lagadina, and Serez, *daš*, *daska* 'board, plank' in Razlog, 76), the change of the etymological *a* to *ä*, *e* after *č*, *ž*, *š* (*žäba* 'frog' in Suho, *žebi* 'frogs' in Negovan, *ž'äl'ba* 'complaint', *š'emár* 'slap' in Goce Delčev, *vudeničär* 'miller', *ufčeré* 'shepherd' def in Razlog, 77), then the isoglosses of traces of the old mixing of the nasals after *č*, *ž*, *š* (*č'ăs* 'part', *č'ăsto* 'often', *ž'ătva* 'harvest', in Goce Delčev, *šapa* 'paw', *žatva*, *žaden* 'thirsty' in Razlog, 78), the palatalized pronunciation of *č*, *ž*, *š* (*ž'aba*, *č'as*, 79), the palatalization of hard consonants before front vowels (80), the preservation of intervocalic *x* (81), as well as the isoglosses of the demonstrative pronoun forms *tos* (*tus*, *tuzi*, *tas*, *tozi*, 90), and *nos* (*nus*, *nozi*, 83) and of deverbative verbal formations with the suffix *-ova* (*kupova* 'buy', 84). West of the Solun–Razlog line, *ě is replaced with *e* (with the exception of the dialect of Boboštica and Drenoveni, where *ä* appears under stress), and etymological *ъ with *o*; *č*, *ž*, *š* are hard sounds and after them, especially after *ž*, *š* , there is no change of the vowel *a*.[2] In the dialects located west of Solun and Razlog, only the velars *k* and *g* are palatalized before front vowels (*k'itka* 'bunch, bouquet', *lag'i* 'lies'). Here there are no formations with the suffix *-ova*, nor are there pronoun forms *tos* and *nos* (with the particles *-zi*, *-z*).

Located approximately along the Solun–Struga line is the boundary between the third person pronoun *toj*, which is characteristic for the extreme eastern dialects, and *on*, dominant in the dialects in the Struma–Vardar region (85).

14. The second isogloss bundle of the Solun source moves to the north along the Kukuš–Berovo line. The number of isoglosses here is larger and the distance between the border lines in the bundle is greater. This isogloss group is formed by the eastern boundaries of the value *ră* in place of vocalic *r̥ (*grăp* 'back' in Visoka, *brăs* 'fast', *vrăx* 'peak' in Petrič, Blagoevgrad, 86), the change of the vowel *o* to *e* in article masc forms (*mažo* > *maže* 'man', *kone* 'horse', *razbojo* > *razboe* 'loom' all def, 87), as well as the palatal *ǩ* for *t'* in the word-final position (*zet'* > *zeǩ* 'son-in-law', *paǩ* 'path', *g'ospoǩ* 'God' in the Blagoevgrad, Razlog, Petrič, and Negovan dialects, 88), the change of the spirants *s*, *š* to *x* before *c*, *č* (*moxče* 'bridge, dam', *gluxci* 'mice', *maxca* 'fat' dim, *kruxče* 'pear' dim, *puxče* 'rifle' dim, in the Petrič, Maleševo, Serez, and Solun dialects, 89), the change of *k* to *x* before *t* (*noxti*, 'fingernails', *laxti* 'elbows', 90), then the isoglosses of the types of stress as *žená – žéni* but *ženáta – ženíte* 'woman' (91), *bráda – brádi* but *bradáta – bradíte* 'beard' (92), *sedló – sédla* but *sedlóto – sedláta* 'saddle' (93), *sélo – séla* but *selóto – seláta* 'village' (94), *dar – dárove* but *daró – darovéto* 'gift' (95), *vol – volóve* but *vólo – volovéto* 'ox' all indef sg – pl and def sg – pl (96), *gnoj – gnojtá* 'pus' indef sg – def sg (97), and for verbs *péča – pečéš* 'bake' 3, 2 sg, *dŕža – držíš* 'hold' 3, 2 sg (98), *pékox –péče* 'bake' 1, 3 sg aor and *pečéx – pečéše* 1, 3 sg impf (99), etc. These types of accents are found up to the Solun–Dojran–Vinica–Kriva Palanka line. To the west of this line a different type of accentual system begins—paradigmatic and free.

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[2] Only in the Kostur dialects are there examples with the change of *a* to *e* and mainly in toponymns, cf. *Breščeni*. As a lexicalized feature, it is found in the word *češa* 'glass, cup'.

In the dialects of Macedonian located to the west of the Solun–Maleševo line, the changes of *o* to *e* and of *t'* to *ḱ* do not occur. Likewise, *ră* in place of vocalic **r̥* does not occur. The situation for the groups *s*, *š* + *c*, *č* and of *kt* in these dialects is more differentiated. On a rather wide area in eastern Macedonia, up to the Vardar and the Crna rivers in the west, the consonants *s*, *š* before *c*, *č* remain unchanged, (*prasci*, *mosče*, *krušče*), or only the group *sč* assimilated to *šč* (*mošče*).

The number of isoglosses of grammatical features is also considerable here. The isoglosses of the pl ending *-eta* passes along the Solun–Berovo line (*teleta* 'calves', 100), the participial pl ending *-li* (*bili* 'were', *dali* 'gave', 101), compound verbal forms with the perfect of the verb *sum* and verbal *l*-forms (*rabotil sam bil – bil sam rabotil* '[I] had worked', 102), and corresponding forms for expressing future action (*ḱe sam bil rabotil* '[I] would have worked', 103). Up to this boundary, pres forms without the ending *-m* in the 1 sg are also met (*nosa* 'carry', *seča* 'cut' for *e*- and *i*-group verbs, as well as three groups of verbs (*ima*, *nosi*, *peče*, 105).

West of this boundary, the ending *-eta* is noted only in the Kočani dialect. The verbal *l*-forms end in *-le* in the pl (*bile*). The compound verbal forms mentioned are not found. On the area between the Vardar and the Maleševo region and in the south to the Gulf of Salonica, *-m* is a general ending for the 1 sg pres for all verbs. On the area between Kriva Palanka, Osogovo mountain, Belasica and the Vardar, the *i*-group of verbs has been broken down, so that here there are only two groups of verbs (*ima*, *nose*, *seče*). In the dialects along the Vardar from Gradsko to Solun and Lake Ostrovo there is a new grouping of the verbs (*ima*, *nosiš* , *pečiš* but *nose*, *peče*, etc.).

Here also runs the border line between the pronoun forms *nie*, *vie*/*nia*, *via* (105a), the accusative *i*/*gi* (106), *men*, *tep*/*mene*, *tebe* (107), the prepositions *vof* – *fof*/*u* (108), and conjunctions, resp. advs *kato*/*kako* (109). The first features are characteristic for the dialects which are located in the east, and the second for the Štip–Strumica and the Lower Vardar dialects. In this area, the lexemes *bašta* and *tatko* 'father' are differentiated (110).

Towards the northern part of this bundle, the more western isoglosses of the preposition *voz* (*odi voz rekata* 'go to the river', 111) and of the change of the sound *k* after palatal consonants to *ḱ* (*majka* > *maḱa* 'mother', *sukal'ka* > *sukal'ḱa* 'rolling pin', 112) connect. These features are limited mainly to the Maleševo–Pirin dialect areas and are not significant for the distribution of isoglosses of the groups examined so far.

On the northern side, all of the isoglosses mentioned cross the Macedonian linguistic border and continue to the north to the Bulgarian border dialects.

15. The second large group of isoglosses, as we have mentioned, moves in the W–E direction or W–NE. The source of these isoglosses is located in northwestern Macedonia, in the region between Šar Planina and Skopska Crna Gora (cf. Map 5 following p. 90). From the Šar Planina or Polog source, the isoglosses move in two smaller groups.

The isoglosses of the phoneme /ă/ in place of the etymological *ъ and *ь (*dăn* 'day', *dăš*, 113), the replacement of **vъ* with *u* (*uleze* 'enter', *unese* 'bring in', *u* 'in, into', 114), the general replacement of nasal **ǫ* with *u* (*ruka* 'hand', *put* 'path', 115), the pl ending *-e* for substantives ending in *-a* in the sg (*žene* 'women', 116), the verbal suffix *-mo* (*imamo* 'we have', *nosimo* 'we carry' 1 pl pres, 117), and the pronoun *ga* (118) move south of Tetovo in Polog, cross the Žeden mountain, and enter the Skopje valley.

The second group of isoglosses in the form of a compact bundle run north of Tetovo, between the villages of Lešok and Vratnica. The following isoglosses have such an orientation: reflexes of *u* and *lă* in place of vocalic **l̥* (*vuk* 'wolf', *puno* 'much, many', *žuto* 'yellow', *dlăk* 'long', *slănce* 'sun', this second reflex is found when *l* stands after a dental consonant, 119, 120); the phoneme *ń* from the old **nj* before front vowels (*ńiva* 'field', *ńega* 'him', 121); prothetic *j* before the initial *e* (*ješ* 'hedgehog', *jelen* 'deer', 122); the pronominal forms *svaki*, *-a*, *-o* (123); *svakakăv*, *-va*, *-vo* (124); *ńojze* (125);

ńojăn, *-na*, *-no* (126); *ńega*, *koga*, *nekoga*, *svakoga* (127); *gu* (acc fem, 128); the pres ending *-v* for 3 pl (*ŭ – vikav* 'called', *vikaŭ*, 129); the generalization of a single root vowel for all persons in the pres tense (*nosi* 'carry, wear' – *nosi-m* 1 sg, *nosi-v* 3 pl, *seče* 'cut' – *seče-m* 1 sg, *seče-v* 3 pl, 130); the conjunction *budi* 'be' (131); and the nominal suffix *–ońa* (132). The isogloss of prothetic *v* in cases of the type *vujko* 'uncle', *vujna* 'aunt' (133) also moves approximately in this direction. These isoglosses enter the Skopje valley north of Skopje, where they connect with the isoglosses of the first group, thus forming a single large isogloss bundle.

Some fifteen new isoglosses join this bundle on the Skopje region: the phoneme *l'* as a reflex of the old **l'* (*nedel'a* 'week Sunday', *kl'uč* 'key', *pol'e* 'field', 134), and of *l'* from the so-called new iotation (*zel'e* 'spinach, orach', *kol'e* 'poles', 135), the semi-voiced pronunciation of final voiced consonants (*gub̭* 'loss', *suḓ* 'court', 136), the pl ending *-e* for fem adjectives (*zrele kruške* 'ripe pears', *naše kuḱe* 'our houses', 137), then the isoglosses of the pronominal-adjectival endings *-oga*/*-ega* (*dobroga* 'good', *našega* 'our', 138), the aor endings *-smo* (*rekosmo* 'said' 1 pl, 139), *-ste* (*rekoste* 'said' 2 pl, 140), and *-še* (*rekoše* 'said' 3 pl, 141), animate noun forms in *-a* (*uvatiše jednoga goluba* '[they] caught a dove', *ubiše čoveka* '[they] killed a man', 142), the prepositions *iz* (*doaǵa iz Skopje* 'comes from Skopje', 143), *proz* 'across' (*ide proz ńivu* 'goes across the field', 144), and the substantival suffixes *-ača* (*vampirača* 'vampire' fem, 145), *-uša* (*svińaruša* 'swineherd' fem, 145^{a}) and *-ińa* (*samotińa* 'loneliness', 146). The isoglosses of the last group continue along the Lepenec valley to the north and northwest and across the Serbian border dialects.

16. All three of these isogloss groups cross through the Skopje plain as a large isogloss bundle, which separates into two parts at the Pčinja river, east of Skopje.

One part of these isoglosses goes to the east along the Kriva river valley all the way to its source. Such are the isoglosses of the prothetic *v* (133), the palatals *l'* (134) and *ń* (121), the prothetic *j* before the initial *e* (122), the semi-voiced pronunciation of the final voiced consonants (136), the isoglosses of the pl ending *-e* for substantives and adjectives (116, 137), the general subst form in *-a* for animate substantives (142), the pronouns *svaki* (123), *svakakăv* (124), the aor-impf endings *-smo* (139), *-ste* (140), *-še* (141) and the prepositions *proz* (144) and *iz* (143). In this group also belong the isoglosses of the participial ending *-ja* (*reḱja* 'say', *bija* 'be', *došaja* 'come', 147), which is characteristic only for the Kumanovo speech region, and the pl ending _-iki_ (_prasiki_, 'piglets', _teliki_ 'calves', 148), which separates (in a western direction) from the isogloss bundle southeast of Skopje, moves across Poreče, and reaches the Bukovik mountain.

Some of the isoglosses turn southeast at the Pčinja river. They pass south of Sveti Nikole, where they veer once again to the northeast and pass along the Zletovska river valley to the Macedonian–Bulgarian linguistic border. Here they rejoin the isoglosses of the Kriva river bundle. Approximately thirty isoglosses pass through this part of the Macedonian linguistic territory: the isoglosses of the phoneme _ă_ < *ъ, *ь (113), the replacement of nasal *ǫ, vocalic *l̥, and the group *vъ with _u_ (115, 119, 114), the iotation of _l'_ < *lьj (135), the isoglosses of the pronominal forms _ńoze_ (125), _ńojno_ (126), _ńega_, _ga_ (127), _gu_ (128), the leveling of the pres stems (130), the pl ending _-mo_ (117) and _-v_ (129), the conjunction _budi_ (141), the nominal suffixes _-ača_ (145), _-uša_ (145^a), _-ońa_ (132), and _-ińa_ (146). In addition, in this group also belong the isoglosses of the prepositions _uz_ (150) and _više_ (149), which in the western dialects are found up to the Skopje–Bukovik–Vlainica line (_više_), and to the Veles–Brod–Kičevo line (_uz_) respectively.

Only two isoglosses from the Polog source pass south of Skopje: the unchanged _a_ in the word _trava_ 'grass' (151) and _a_ in place of *ě (after _r_) in the word _ora_ 'walnut' (_orav_, _orax_), pl _orasi_ (152). Both of these isoglosses move together, often overlapping. These forms are found in the south approximately up to the Tetovo–Kavardarci–Radoviš–Kočani line. South of this line *ra > _re_, as well as *rě, e.g., _treva_, _orev_ (_orex_).

17. Besides the features examined so far, the reflexes of nasal *ǫ (153), secondary ъ$_2$ (154), and vocalic *r̥ (155) and *l̥ (156) play an important role in the dialectal differentiation of Macedonian. The isoglosses of these features, however, are not included in any of the four sources examined thus far (cf. Map 6 following p. 90). The reflexes of these features are important because of their influence on the phonemic system of the individual dialects of Macedonian, especially on the number of vocalic phonemes.

The basic reflexes of nasal *ǫ in the dialects of Macedonian are _a_, _ă_, _o_, and _u_. Along the periphery there is also open _o_ (_å_), and open _e_ (_ä_). The value _u_ as a general phenomenon is confined to the northern dialect region, and its southern isogloss, as we have seen (15), moves in the W–E direction. The reflex _a_ dominates in the central part of the Macedonian linguistic territory. Its southern isogloss goes along the direction Ohrid–Lerin–Demir Kapija–Petrič and continues to Bulgarian linguistic territory southeast of Razlog. South of this line *ǫ > *ă* (*răka* 'hand', *păt* 'path'), and along the periphery on a small region, again *a* can be found (e.g., *raka* in the dialect of Korča, in some southern Kostur area villages and in the village of Ilinec near Lagadina). The western isogloss does not reach the western linguistic border. From Ohrid, it continues to the north across Karaorman, Bistra, Bukovik and Suva Gora and reaches the Vardar at Skopje. Along the western periphery from Tetovo to Kostur, various reflexes are found: *ă* (Upper Polog, Debar and Struga regions, the town of Ohrid along with the lake-side villages, and Prespa), *o* (Mala Reka, Golo Brdo, Drimkol, Dolna Prespa, Nestram), *å/ą* (Reka), *ä/å* (in several villages near Struga, e.g., Radožda).

Vocalic *r̥ is found in the northern, central, Štip–Strumica and Pijanec–Maleševo dialects. In other words, it is spread all over the northern and central territory, north of the Lerin–Demir Kapija–Strumica line. In the east, the isogloss of this phoneme goes slightly west of the Struma river in the direction Petrič–Blagoevgrad. In all other dialects of Macedonian, the vocalic quality of *r̥ has been eliminated. In the dialects east of the Solun–Belasica line, as we have seen, in place of *r̥ there are two values—*ăr* and *ră*. In the dialects in the belt Solun–Kostur and Prespa, then in the Ohrid–Prespa dialects, in the Debar region and Upper Polog *ăr* is the only reflex. In other dialects along the western periphery we find *or*, more rarely *er* (*kerst*, 'cross'), or *år*, *är* (*särce* 'heart', Radožda) and *ar* (*karf* 'blood', in Boboštica and in some Kostur area villages, e.g., Gališta).

On the largest part of Macedonian territory, vocalic *l̥ has also been eliminated. In the northern dialects, it has been replaced with *u* and in some positions with *lă* (15). In other dialects the reflexes are *ol* or *o* and *ăl* or *ă*. The first reflex is dominant in western Macedonia. Its eastern isogloss joins the Prespa isogloss bundle (Crna–Vardar) in the area from Lake Prespa to Skopje. The western boundary is very uneven. Along the western linguistic border, there is *ăl* (Upper Polog, Struga region), in some dialects also *al* (in Korča dialect, in some villages in the Kostur area, and in Reka near Debar), while in the dialect of Galičnik, vocalic *l̥ (*pl̥no* 'full') has been preserved. East and south of the line Prespa, Crna Reka, Vardar and south of Sveti Nikole and Zletovo *l̥ has yielded *ăl* (*žălto* 'yellow'), and east of Solun and Razlog in specific positions, *lă* is also found. In the dialects located north of Prespa–Ohrid Lake–Dojran–Razlog the consonantal element was later lost, so that only *ă* (*žăto*) remains.

18. All of the exit points for the isoglosses of the dialect differentiating features are located on the northern linguistic periphery. The greatest number of isoglosses converge in the northern part of the Polog region and in Osogovo (cf. Map 7 following p. 90). In these two areas, over ninety percent of the isoglosses are concentrated. In the region between Šar Planina and Skopska Crna Gora (northern Polog) around seventy isoglosses cross an area forty to fifty kilometers wide. Half of them go from the south and southwest, from the Kajlar and Prespa source, and half from northwest.

A similar number of isoglosses (70–80) concentrate at a second exit point, between Kriva Palanka and Delčevo. The largest part of this group is made up of the isoglosses from the northern (Polog) source. The second largest group goes from the Maleševo region, and several isoglosses pass here from the Vardar–Crna Reka bundle. All of the isoglosses from the Osogovo point continue over the linguistic border to the north and the northeast (Ivić 1957–58: 179, 1958: 35–44, 54).

A dozen or so isoglosses, as has been pointed out earlier, cross the Macedonian linguistic border on the upper reaches of the river Mesta, in the Razlog region.

The large number of isoglosses concentrated in the Skopje–Polog and the Osogovo–Pijanec regions can be explained by the fact that the isogloss bundles, which move from both the extreme south (from the Greek–Macedonian or the Albanian–Macedonian linguistic borders) and the northwest (from the Macedonian–Albanian and the Serbian–Albanian linguistic borders), meet, intersect, or separate exactly on these two regions.

19. The isoglosses from the Polog–Osogovo bundle move quite compactly across the entire length of the territory. The narrowest band of this bundle is located in the Skopje valley, or more precisely, north of the city of Skopje. The width of the isogloss band in this part varies from five to ten kilometers. In the Polog and Ovče Pole regions, the isoglosses are somewhat more dispersed, but still the distance between them is never greater than twenty to twenty-five kilometers. Together with the northern linguistic border of Macedonian, this bundle encloses a dialect area whose length in the W–E orientation reaches one hundred and fifty kilometers and whose width is as narrow as twenty kilometers (in the Skopje region). The southern isoglosses of the linguistic phenomena characteristic of this region connect it with the Serbian Prizren–South Morava border dialects.

20. The Vardar–Crna Reka bundle is numerically the largest of the southern isogloss bundles (cf. Map 8 following p. 90). It is made up of more than forty separate isoglosses. A large number of theses isoglosses either overlap (over the whole stretch, or only on one part), or move in parallel with a small distance between them. The densest concentration of isoglosses is in the Vardar valley from Veles to Skopje. The farther south from Veles or northwest from Skopje one proceeds, the greater the degree of separation of the isoglosses becomes, so that this unified bundle splinters into several isogloss groups on the southwest and northwest linguistic periphery. The isogloss band at Veles is up to ten kilometers wide, and in Skopje, its width is five to six kilometers. In the Skopje region, north of the city of Skopje, the isoglosses of this bundle mix with the isoglosses from the northern (Polog–Osogovo) bundle, so that about seventy to eighty isoglosses are joined here. This is the greatest concentration or density of isoglosses on Macedonian linguistic territory.

21. The Vardar–Crna Reka isogloss bundle divides the Macedonian linguistic area into two parts–the western and southeastern dialect regions. Together with the western linguistic border, the isoglosses from this bundle form closed lines, and the entire bundle forms a rather wide isogloss ring. This ring of isoglosses, all of which overlap on the western side, form a narrow band in the east, and encloses a relatively large linguistic area in western Macedonia. The maximum length along the Skopje–Kostur axis is more than two hundred kilometers, and the maximum width along the Veles–Debar axis is around one hundred and twenty kilometers. This dialect region brings together over fifty dialectal features, which at the same time are features which differentiate the dialects of Macedonian east of the Vardar and the Crna rivers.

Among these linguistic phenomena there are traces of old features, as for example the preservation of synthetic dative forms of masc and fem personal names and kinship terms (_Stojanu, Mari – Mare_), or the preservation of the ending _-t_ in the 3 sg pres. But the largest part are innovations, which have entered the structure of the dialect and have formed their own clearly delineated area. It is precisely these features of this dialect region in question that give it a special and original character, unique in relation to other regions. Among these features are: the values _cu_, _su_, _ʒu_, in place of the old groups *_cvь_, *_svь_, *_ʒvь_, the replacement of *_ę_ with *_ǫ_ after _j_, the use of _j_ as a prothetic sound before initial *_ǫ_ and its reflexes, the loss of intervocalic _v_, the change of _x_ to _v_ (_f_), the article _-ov_, and the three article system in general, the gen-acc ending _-ta_ for masc personal names and kinship terms ending in _-e_, the personal pronoun *toj*, the verb form *se* 3 pl from *sum*, the preposition *kon*, the suffix *-ule*, then the possessive function of the preposition *od*, the loss of the auxiliary verb in the 3 sg and pl perfect forms, the rise of constructions with *ima* as an auxiliary verb and constructions with the verb *sum* and verbal adjective, and the prepositive use of clitic pronominal forms (*Go vide Stojana* '[s/he] saw Stojan', *Mu reče Stojanu* '[s/he] told Stojan'). All of these linguistic innovations were formed during the period from the end of the twelfth century to the beginning, and in places, to the end, to the seventeenth century (Koneski 1960: 494, 1948: 111–28). These are either completely absent in other dialects of Macedonian or are in the initial phase of development, for example, constructions of the type *e dojden*, pres of *sum* plus the *-n/-t*-part form, and *ima dojdeno*, pres of *ima* plus the *-n/-t*-part form. These innovations also demonstrate the unique historical development of the western dialects of Macedonian, which of course, did not sever their ties with the rest of Macedonian territory.

22. In the eastern dialects of Macedonian, the percentage of archaisms in relation to the western dialects is somewhat greater: e.g., the phoneme /x/, the preservation of intervocalic *v*, the pronoun *on*, the auxiliary verb in periphrastic forms with *sum*, the location of pronominal clitics in the sentence, the place of stress, etc. Moreover, in this area of Macedonian territory, even the innovation features are not typically Macedonian. All of them are also found in the Serbian and Bulgarian border dialects. Thus for example, the changes of **cvь* and **svь* to *cav*, *sav* – *sam*, esp. to *căv*, *săm*, the changes in the place of stress, the preposition *u* in place of **vъ*, the doubling of the preposition **sъ* (*sos*, *săs*), the pronoun *gi* and several others are found on a larger area on both the Bulgarian and Serbian linguistic territory. Prothetic *v* (*vaglen* 'coal'), the analytic declension of pronouns in the dative, the merging of a *casus generalis* with the nominative for masc personal names, the prepositions *vrz* and *prez*, the spreading of the particles *-ze*/*-zi* and *-ka* in forms of personal pronouns (*jaze*, *tize*, *naze*, *vaze*, *jazeka*, *tizeka*, *meneka*, *tebeka*), the aor forms *bidox*, *bidex*, and the compound verb forms of the type *rabotil sam bil*, *ḱe sam bil rabotil* '[I] have had worked', '[I] would have had worked' etc. are found also on a wide area of the Bulgarian linguistic territory. The areas of these linguistic features are spread diffusely and as such are of less importance for Macedonian. They can, however, be of particular use in the confirmation of linguistic interference (Ivić 1960–61: 81–103).

23. We have mentioned above that several of the isoglosses (of the groups *čere – cre* < **črě-* the 3 pl pres endings *-at/-et* and the aor *-a/-e*) from the Kajlar source of innovation move along the western linguistic periphery. From Lake Prespa and Ohrid to Šar Planina and Suva Gora, this group is enlarged by the addition of several "local" isoglosses. Along the direction Galičica–Karaormam–Bistra–Bukovik–Suva Gora move the western isoglosses of the reflex *a* of nasal **ǫ* (*raka* 'hand', 157) and secondary ъ$_2$ (*magla* 'fog', 18), vocalic **r̥* (*pr̥vo* 'first', *sr̥ce* 'heart', 159). Slightly west (west of Kičevo and Ohrid) pass the eastern isogloss of the pronoun *mie* 'we', (160), and further east the isogloss of the velar *l* in place of the old soft **l'* (*nedela* 'week, Sunday', 161). The western isogloss of the value *ol* in place of *l̥* is also a part of this group (*polno* 'full'). These dozen or so isoglosses separate a single narrow dialect band from the western dialectal region. Another series of local features give this band a special character.

24. The isoglosses from the Solun center of innovations with both of its bundles—the Maleševo and the Lagadina–Razlog—break the eastern dialectal region into three parts along the S–N axis. The isoglosses of the values *a/ă* in places of **ǫ* and ъ$_2$, vocalic *r̥/ăr*, the phoneme *ă/ăl* in place of **l̥*, then the isoglosses of the strong reduction of unstressed vowels and the pronominal forms *ma, ta, sa* (*mạ, tạ, sạ*) separate it into two unequal parts along the SW–NE axis.

25. The isoglosses of the reflexes of **ǫ* and ъ$_2$, vocalic **l̥* and **r̥*, and the secondary nasalized *a* (e.g., *snaga – snoga – snăga* 'strength') and other local features divide the western periphery into many parts along the whole band from Šar Planina to Gramos. On this territory too, the isoglosses of these features move in the W–E direction.

26. On the basis of these dialectal varieties and the spread of the isoglosses, the most important dialectal groups and their boundaries may be noted (cf. Map 9 following p. 90).

There are three clearly marked dialect groups or regions on the Macedonian linguistic territory: 1. *the western Macedonian*, 2. *the southeastern Macedonian*, and 3. *the northern Macedonian* dialect regions.[3] The largest and most numerous isogloss bundles mark the border between these dialect regions. The Vardar–Crna Reka bundle marks the dialect border between the western and the eastern dialect regions, and the Polog–Osogovo bundle marks the border between these two dialect regions and the northern one. On the border zone between the basic dialect groups there is a dialect band of varying width, where the isoglosses of the dialect features pass. The so-called transition dialects are found in these inter-dialect regions. The dialects of Kostur–Lerin and the Mariovo–Tikveš regions are transitional in character, that is, these dialects are located in the triangle between the Prespa and Kajlar centers of innovation and Veles, where all the isogloss of these two centers collect in a single, thick isogloss bundle. The largest area of this transition dialect region is up to eighty kilometers wide (on the part between Lake Prespa and Lake Ohrid).

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[3] On Map 9 the dialect regions are denoted by horizontal, diagonal, and vertical hatching, respectively.

The transition dialect band in northern Macedonia is the narrowest in the Skopje region (up to five kilometers), and the widest in Polog and Ovče Pole.

27. Four smaller dialect units are found in the boundaries of the eastern dialect region: 1. *Štip–Strumica*, 2. *Lower Vardar*, 3. *Maleševo–Pirin*, and 4. *Serez–Lagadina* dialect.[4] The eastern border of the Štip–Strumica and the Lower Vardar dialects is marked by the Maleševo isogloss bundle, and the border between the Maleševo–Pirin dialect and the Serez–Lagadina, to which the Razlog and the Goce Delčev (Nevrokop) dialects also belong, is marked by the Lagadina–Razlog isogloss group. The Lower Vardar dialect covers the region between the Solun and the Kajlar centers of innovation, and its border with the Štip–Strumica dialect is marked by the isoglosses that move along the Kožuf–Belasica axis (the reflex *a*/*ă* in place of *ǫ, etc., point 24).

28. Four or five dialect units can be separated at the border with the western dialect region. The dialects between the Vardar–Crna Reka bundle and the isogloss group, which moves along the Galičica–Bistra–Suva Gora line, make up a single unit. These dialects are known as the central dialects (1. *central dialect*). The dialects in the Ohrid and Prespa regions also form a single unit (2. *Ohrid–Prespa dialect*), as do the dialects of the Debar region (3. *Debar dialect*), which can be further divided into two to three smaller groups, and the 4. *Upper Polog* (*Gostivar*) *dialect*.[5] The borders between these dialects are determined by the isoglosses of the reflexes of *ǫ, $ъ_2$, the secondary nasalized *a* and vocalic *r̥ and *l̥.

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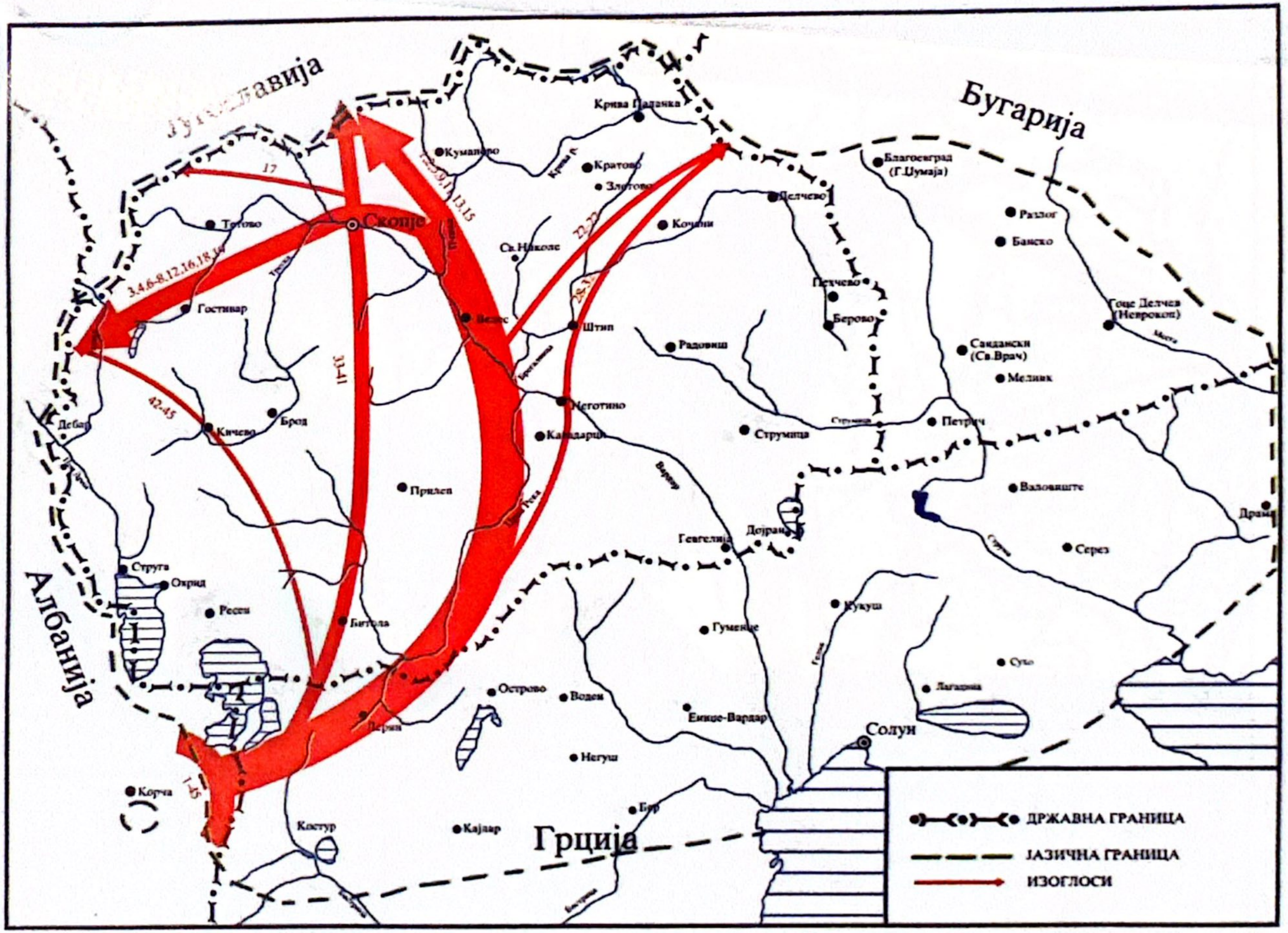
[4] On Map 9 these regions are denoted by ①–④.

[5] These regions are denoted by $\boxed{1}$–$\boxed{4}$.

Only the basic dialect complexes and dialects of the Macedonian language have been discussed here. The Macedonian linguistic (dialectological) atlas will provide the definitive solutions to the problem of the dialectal differentiation of Macedonian and the classification of its dialects.


Југославија
Бугарија
Албанија
Грција
Скопје
Солун
Крива Паланка
Куманово
Кратово
Злетово
Тетово
Гостивар
Св.Николе
Кочани
Делчево
Пехчево
Берово
Велес
Штип
Радовиш
Неготино
Кавадарци
Струмица
Дебар
Кичево
Брод
Прилеп
Струга
Охрид
Ресен
Битола
Лерин
Корча
Костур
Кајлар
Острово
Воден
Негуш
Енице-Вардар
Гуменџе
Гевгелија
Дојран
Кукуш
Лагадина
Сухо
Бер
Благоевград
(Г.Џумаја)
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Банско
Гоце Делчев
(Неврокоп)
Сандански
(Св.Врач)
Мелник
Петрич
Валовиште
Серез
Драма
Вардар
Струма
Места
Брегалница
Црна Река
Треска
Пчиња
Крива Р.
Галик
Бистрица
1,2,5,9,11,13,15
3,4,6-8,12,16,18,19
17
22-27
28-32
33-41
42-45
1-45
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ЈАЗИЧНА ГРАНИЦА
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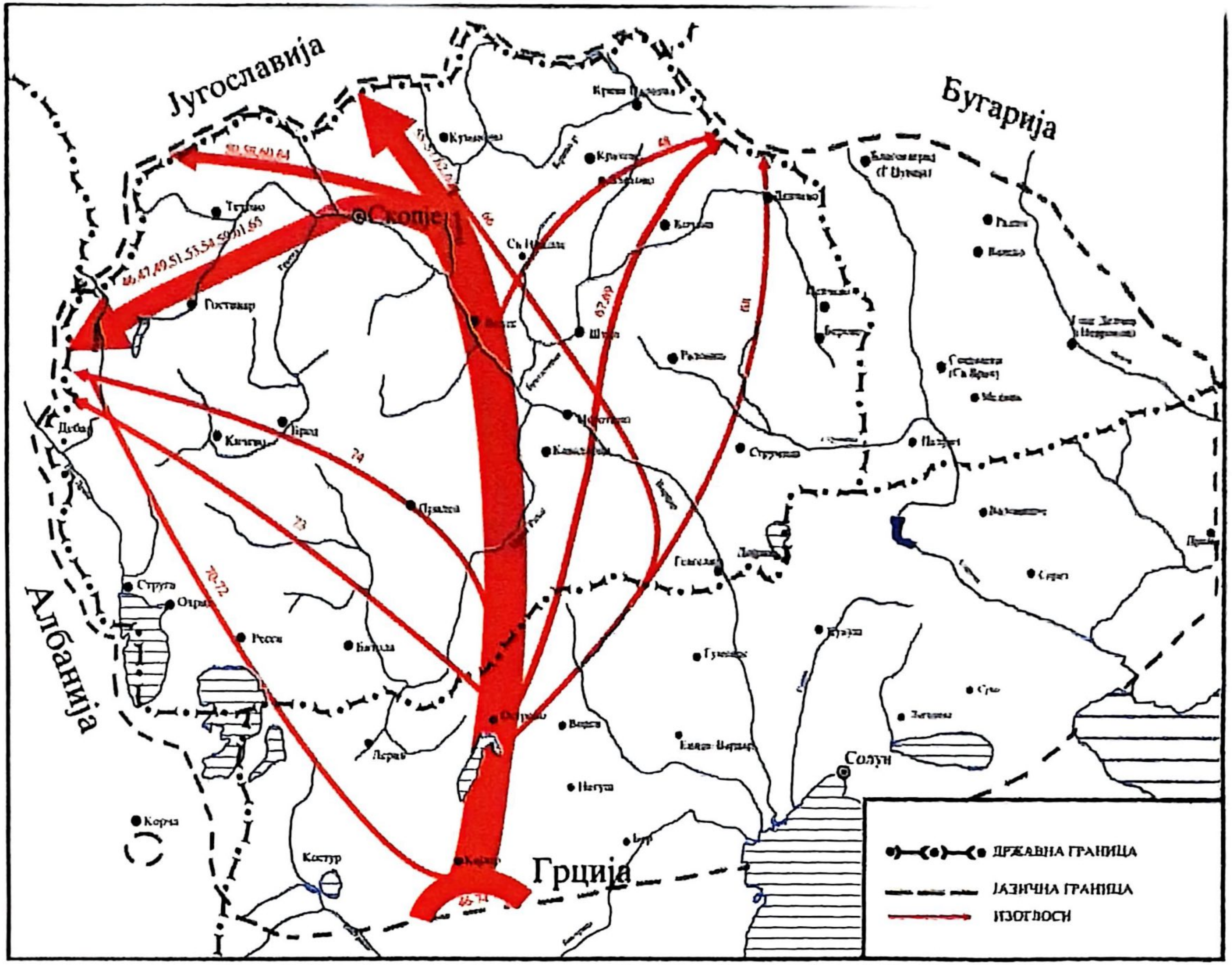
Map 2. Isoglosses – Sources on the Southern Linguistic Border I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Охрид
Ресен
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Костур
Корча
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Штип
Струмица
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Кукуш
Воден
Негуш
Кратово
Куманово
Крива Паланка
Кочани
Радовиш
Делчево
Петрич
Благоевград
(Г. Џумаја)
Гоце Делчев
(Неврокоп)
Сандански
(Св. Врач)
Мелник
Серез
Драма
50,57,60,64
46,47,49,51,53,54,59,61,65
74
73
70-72
67,69
68
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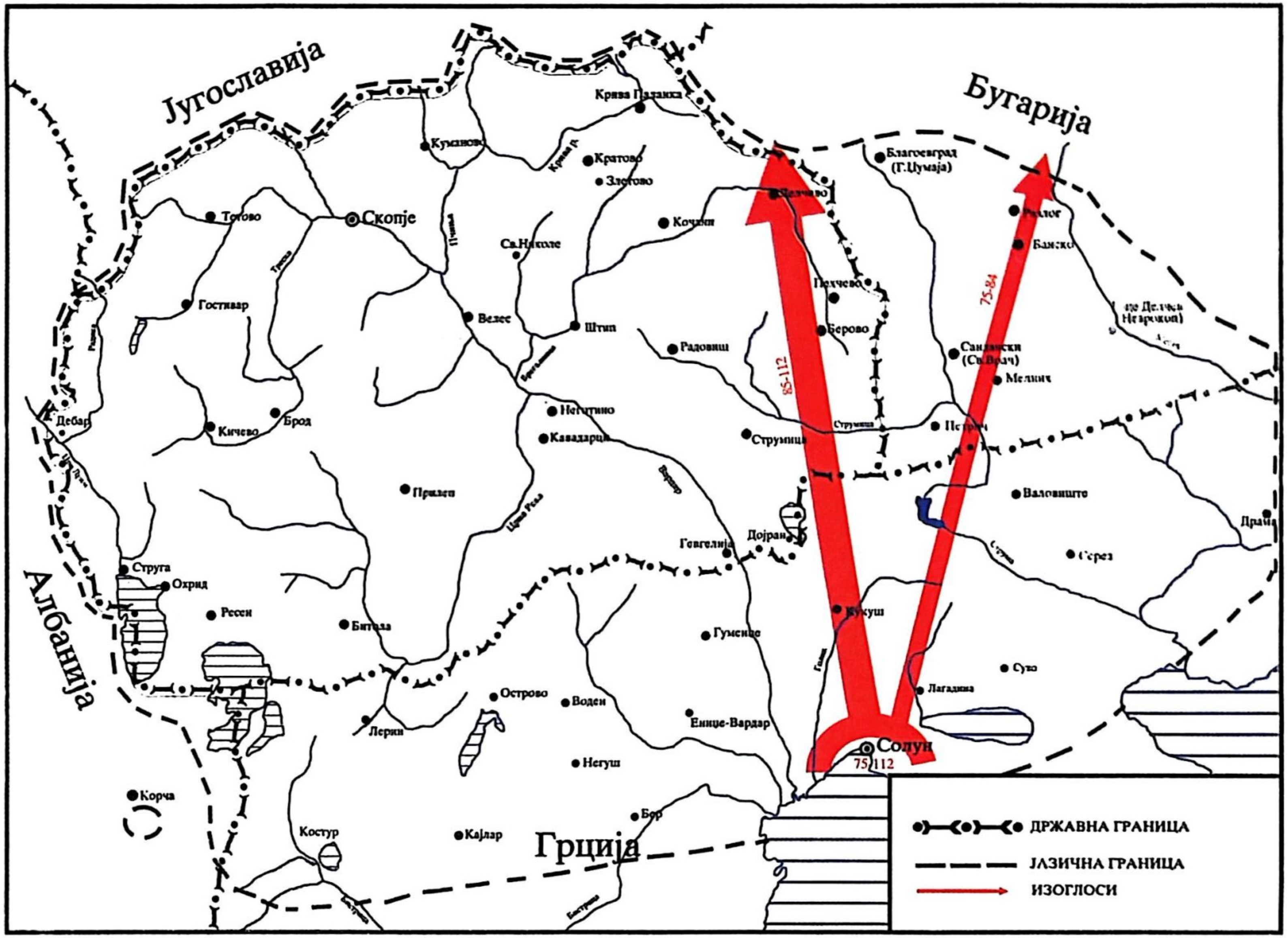
Map 3. Isoglosses – Sources on the Southern Linguistic Border II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Тетово
Скопје
Кочани
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Гостивар
Велес
Штип
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Пехчево
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Делчево
Благоевград (Г.Џумаја)
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Банско
Сандански (Св.Врач)
Мелник
Петрич
Гоце Делчев (Неврокоп)
Дебар
Кичево
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Кавадарци
Струмица
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Суво
Лагадина
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Воден
Енице-Вардар
Лерин
Солун
Негуш
Корча
Костур
Кајлар
Бер
75-84
85-112
75-112
ДРЖАВНА ГРАНИЦА
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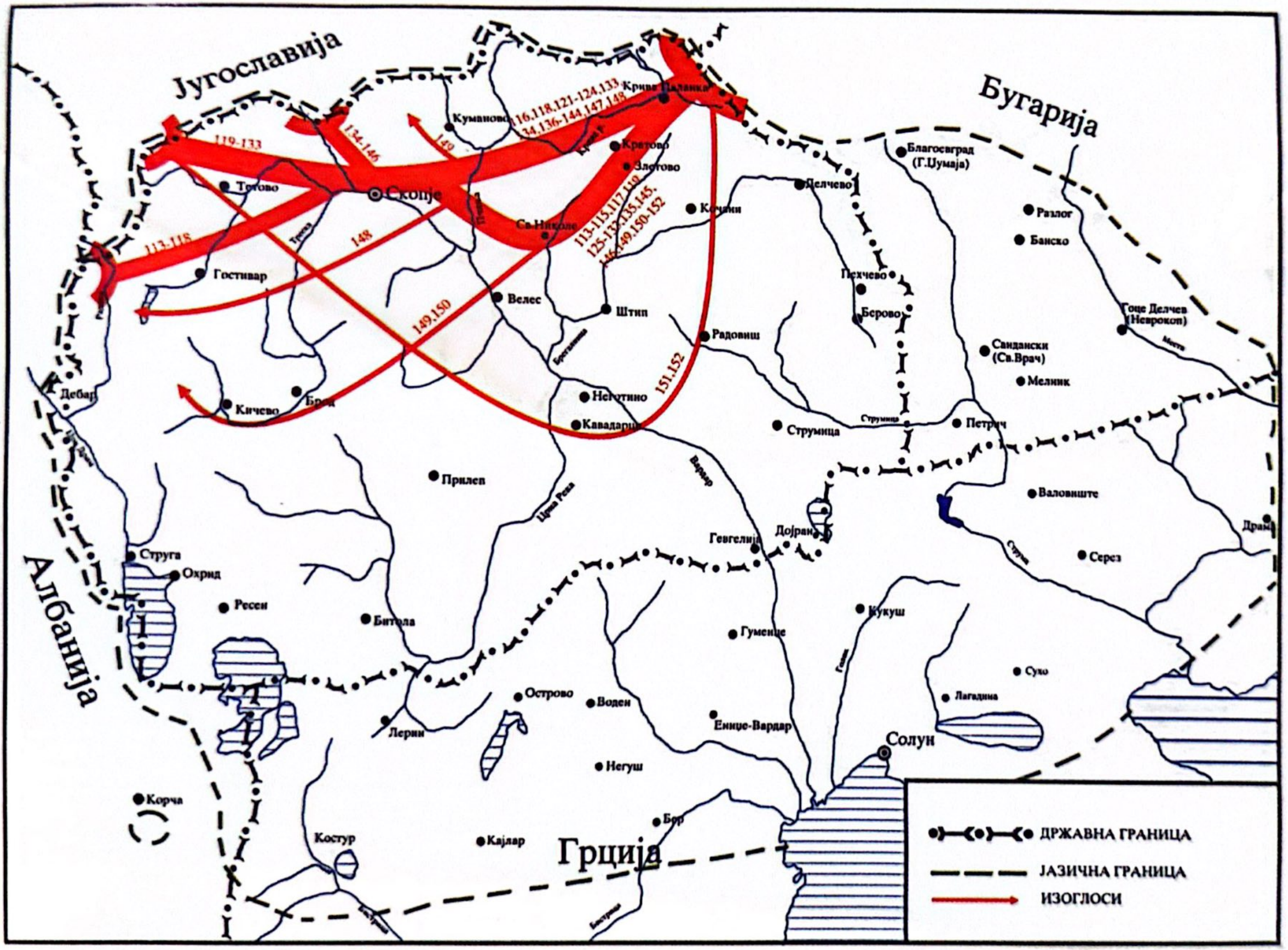
Map 4. Isoglosses – Sources on the Southern Linguistic Border III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Негуш
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Бер
Треска
Пчиња
Брегалница
Вардар
Црна Река
Струмица
Струма
Места
Бистрица
119-133
134-146
149
116,118,121-124,133,
134,136-144,147,148
113-118
148
149,150
113-115,117,119,
125-132,135,145,
146,149,150-152
151,152
ДРЖАВНА ГРАНИЦА
ЈАЗИЧНА ГРАНИЦА
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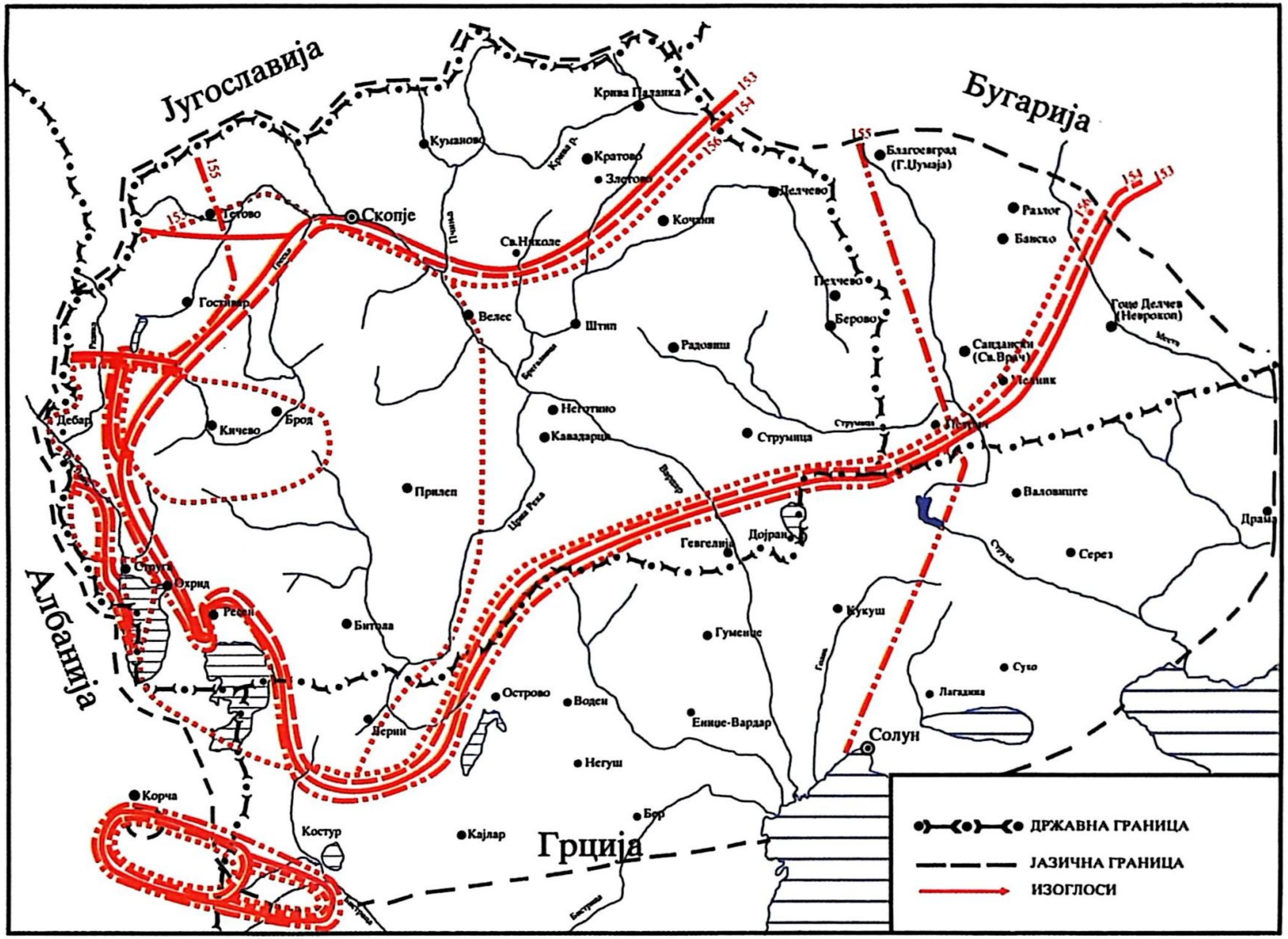
Map 5. Isoglosses – Sources on the Northwestern Linguistic Border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Гумендже
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Кукуш
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Лагадина
Суво
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Мелник
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Кајлар
Бер
Корча
Вардар
Црна Река
Брегалница
Пчиња
Струма
Места
153
154
155
156
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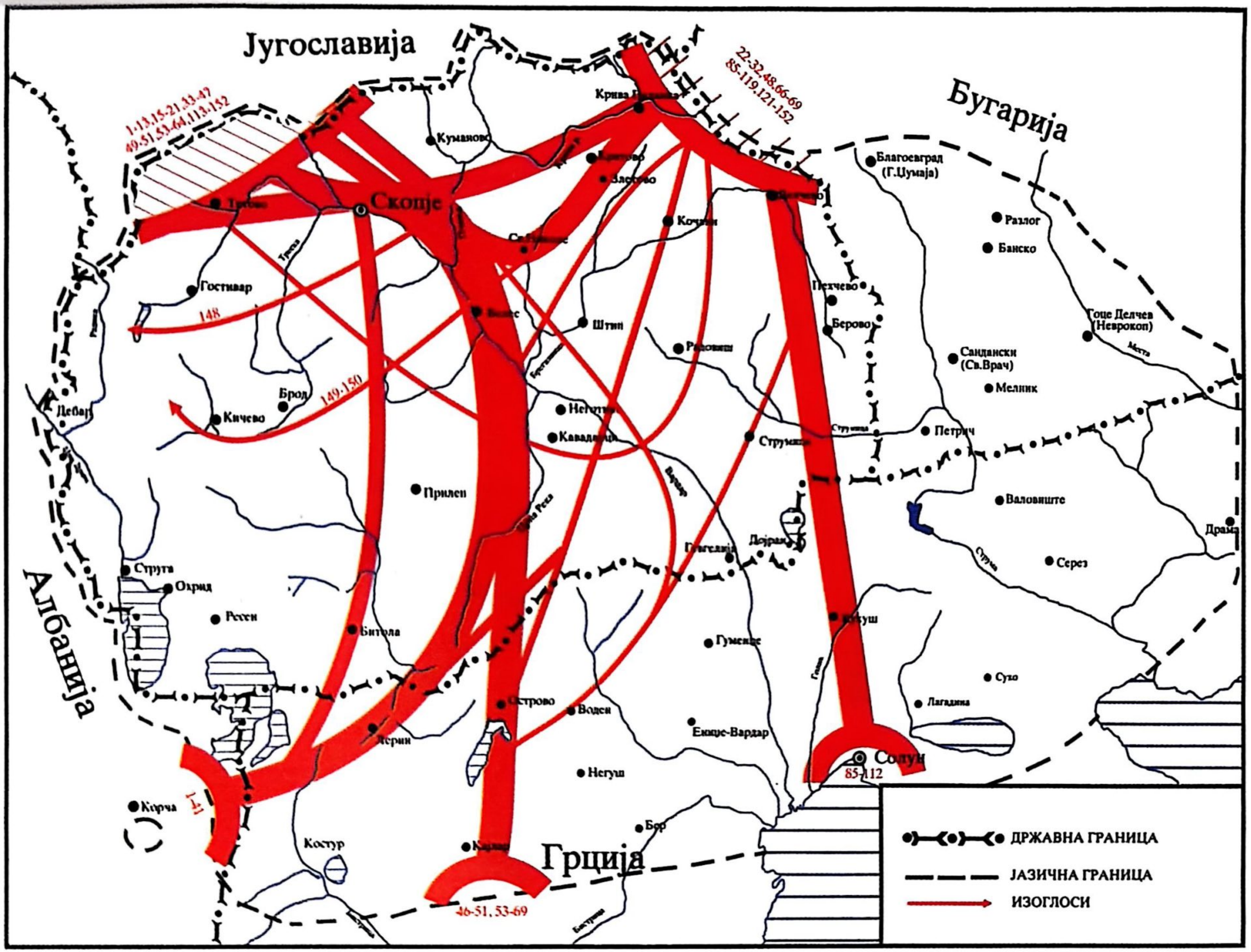
Map 6. Isoglosses of the Reflexes of *ǫ, ъ₂, *r̥ and *l̥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Албанија
Грција
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49-51,53-64,113-152
22-32,48,66-69
85-119,121-152
148
149-150
1-41
46-51, 53-69
85-112
Скопје
Куманово
Крива Паланка
Злетово
Кочани
Гостивар
Штип
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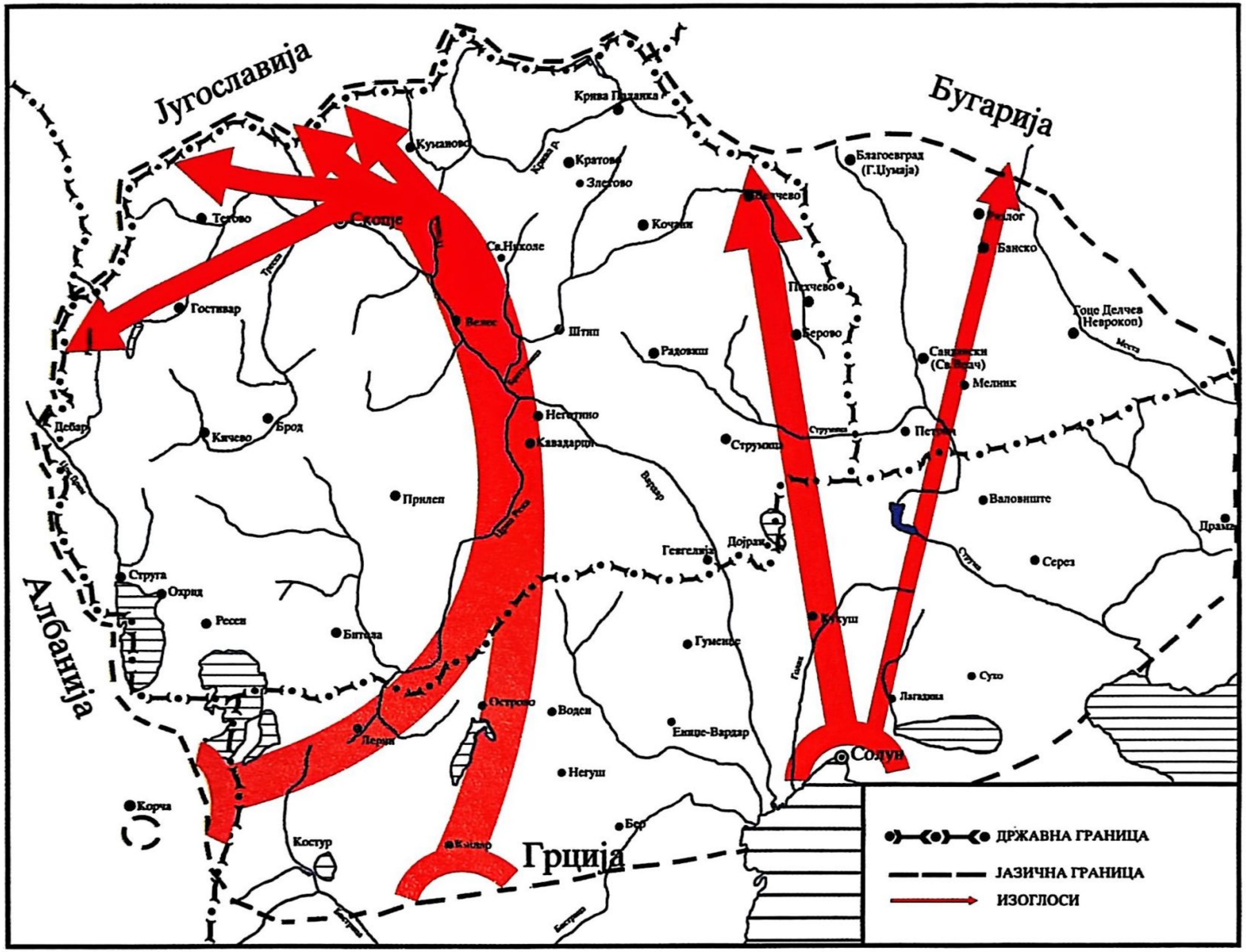
Map 7. Exit Points of Dialect-Differentiating Features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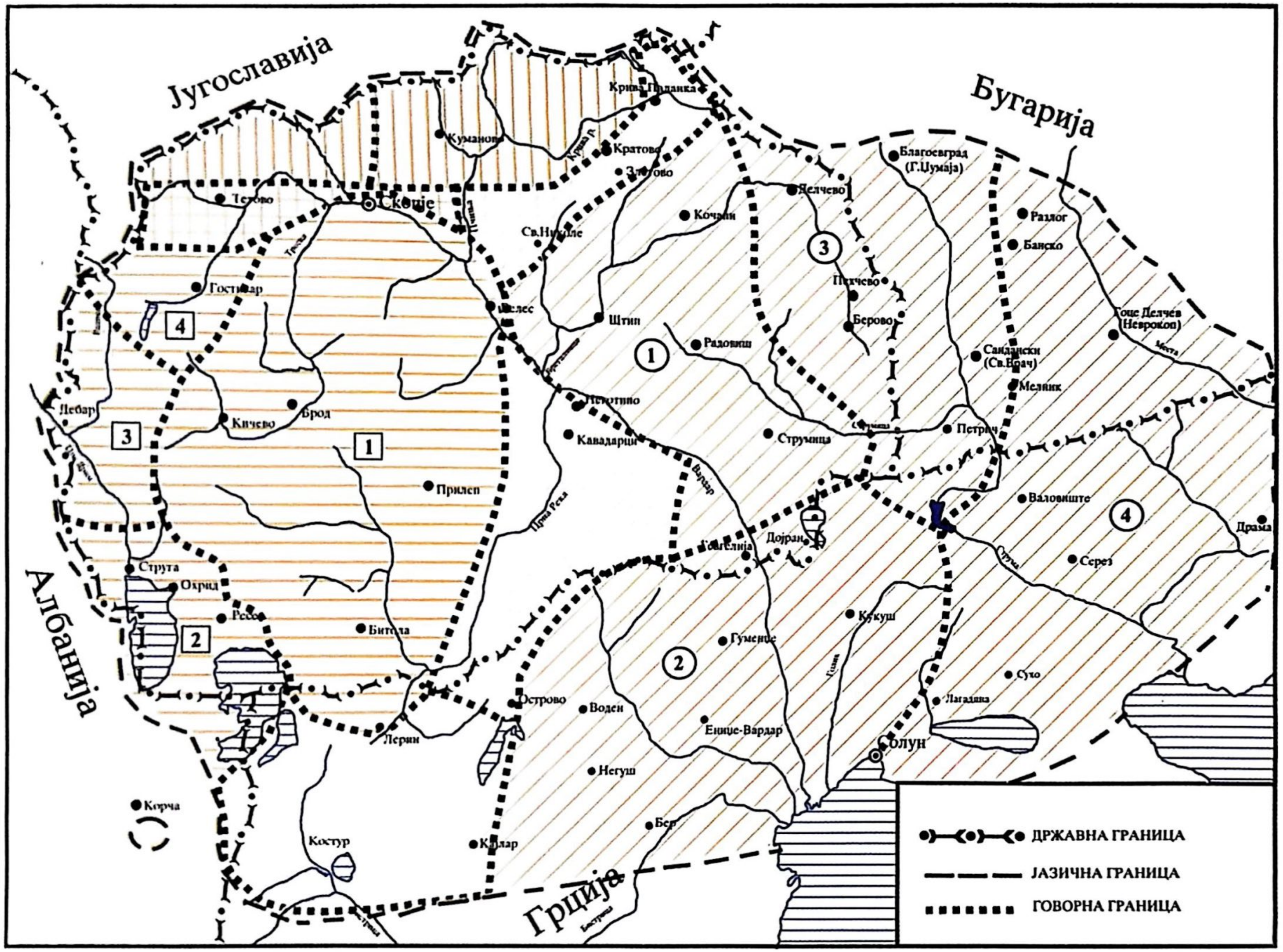
Map 8. Isoglosses of the Vardar-Crna Reka Bundle and from the Solun Center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Кавадарци
Струмица
Петрич
Прилеп
Црна Река
Вардар
Дојран
Гевгелија
Валовиште
Драма
Серез
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Map 9. Boundaries of the Dialect Regions and Groups

Social Factors in the Differentiation of the Dialects of Macedonian*

1. Slavic linguistics has long noted the fact that there is a great variety of dialects on the Macedonian linguistic territory. The reasons for the dialectal differentiation—both intra- and extra-linguistic—are numerous. The most important extra-linguistic factor is the influence of the neighboring Balkan languages. Of all the Slavic languages, Serbian has influenced the dialectal differentiation the most. A series of phonetic features originating in the Serbian linguistic area, for example, the group *cr* instead of *čr*, *ḱ*, *ǵ* in place of **tj*, **dj*, *u* for **ǫ* and **l̥* and others have become general features in most northern and central dialects of Macedonian, and are therefore markers of differentiation in relation to the more southern dialects. At the same time, those features that have been identified as Balkanisms have not spread evenly on Macedonian territory. They are most numerous and stable in the southern and southwestern regions of Macedonia (Koneski, Vidoeski, Jašar-Nasteva 1966). In these dialects, the so-called Balkan linguistic features have been completely absorbed into the system and have become markers of differentiation in relation to other dialects of Macedonian.

2. Besides other factors (national tradition, economic and political organization, geography, etc.) active in the processes of the internal differentiation of the dialects of Macedonian, the social differentiation of the Macedonian population has played an important role. This work will focus on this problem which has yet to be treated in a Macedonian context.

3. Social differentiation as a factor in the dialectal differentiation in Macedonia can be examined from two perspectives: a) the relation between the dialects of the cities and those of the villages; and b) the relation between the dialects of the Macedonian Orthodox Christian population and the Muslim population, the so-called Torbeš.

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* Originally published as *Социјалниот фактор во диференцирањето на македонските говори*. – Реферати VI, 1968, стр. 1–12 : 1 к.

In several dialect regions in Macedonia—especially in the west, the location of the highly developed urban centers—there are significant differences between the dialects of the urban and rural populations. These differences are most apparent in the cities with a long cultural tradition, e.g., Prilep, Bitola, Veles, and Ohrid. As dialect differentiating features in Prilep, Koneski noted both the presence of the phoneme *f* (*furna* 'bakery', *fes* 'fez') in the urban dialect, absent from the dialects in the surrounding region, and the preservation of the sound *v* in article forms of the fem and neut genders (*ženava* 'woman', *detevo* 'child' as opposed to *ženaa, deteo*) (Koneski 1949: 258). According to our research, the urban Bitola dialect has adopted a Balkanism, the use of the aor and impf in place of the perfect, which is unusual in the dialects of the surrounding villages.

4. The tendency to differentiate the urban dialect from that of the villages is even more apparent in the Ohrid region. Here two dialect varieties are clearly differentiated—the dialect of the oldest part of the town (Varoš) and the dialect of the surrounding region (villages). The urban dialect is most notably differentiated from the dialect of the surrounding region by the articulation of stressed *e, o*. They are pronounced more open in comparison with their pronunciation in the villages: *dɛnes* 'today', *pɛro* 'plume', *pɛjt* 'sing' 3 sg pres, *pɛtto* 'fifth', *prɛska* 'earlier' adv, *trɛto* 'third', *čɛsto* 'often', *garnɛta* 'pots', *modɛrno* 'modern'; *vtɔro* 'second', *kɔzjo* 'goat' adj, *oktɔmbar* 'October'. On the other hand, the vowel *o*, when stressed and located before *j* is pronounced more closed: *bogorǫ́jca* 'Virgin Mary', *božikǫ́jposti* 'Christmas fast', *volǫ́jte* 'oxen' def, *lastǫ́jčina* 'swallow' adj fem, *ǫ́jte* 'go' imv 2 pl, *polǫ́jna* 'half', *slivǫ́jca* 'plum brandy'. The stressed *a*, when not in the initial position, approaches *ă*, e.g., *arắmija* 'thief', *daskắlica* 'teacher fem', *magắreto* 'donkey' def, *opắškata* 'tail' def, *bradắjca* 'wart', *ikắjca* 'hiccup'. Other dialects in the Ohrid region do not have this feature. In the area of vocalism, the urban dialect is also differentiated according to the reflexes of **ǫ*, ъ$_2$ and **r̥*. The phoneme /ă/ has replaced nasal **ǫ*, e.g., *zăp* 'tooth', *jăzik* 'tongue, language', *kăndro* 'curl, lock'. The same reflex is found in place of ъ$_2$, e.g., *măgla* 'fog', *măska* 'mule', as well as in place of the secondary nasalized *a*, e.g., *snăga* 'strength', *săna* (from *snaa* 'sister-in-law'). The schwa sound appeared also before *r*, e.g., *dărvo* 'tree', *părs* 'finger'. Only in the urban dialect is there a trace of the change * *ę* to **ǫ*, after *č*, e.g., *čădo* 'child'. In the dialect of the villages, all of the old sounds mentioned have been replaced with *a*, e.g., *pat* 'path', *maska* 'mask', and **r̥* is vocalic, *dr̥vo*.

The urban dialect shows several peculiarities also in consonantism. Here, the consonant groups *tj*, *dj (< *tьj, *dьj)* have remained unchanged, e.g., *bratja* 'brothers', *pratje* 'rods', *vodje* 'waters' pl, *djakon* 'deacon', as opposed to *braḱa*, *voǵe*, *ǵakon* in the villages. There are many lexemes in Ohrid with the phoneme /x/ preserved, e.g., *xrana* 'food', *xulit* 'blaspheme', *buxol* 'water buffalo', *uxo* 'ear', *čoxa* 'cloth', *buxna* 'erupt, burst', *saxnit* 'dry', *krexko* 'tender' adv, *nixno* 'their', *texno* 'his', *vărx* 'peak', *grax* 'beans', *grex* 'sin', *glux* 'deaf', *zdix* 'breath', while in other areas it has been eliminated and changed to *v (f)*. The dialect of the town also has distinctions in relation to the groups *sc*, *sč*, *šč*. Here, *s*, *š* are most often preserved unchanged, e.g., *meso – mesce* 'meat' dim, *kruša – krušče* 'pear' dim, and *s* before *č* is assimilated to *š*, e.g., *guska – gušče* 'goose' dim, *klas – klašče* 'ear' dim, *măska – măšče* 'mule' dim, *fes – fešče* 'fez' dim. In other parts of the Ohrid region and in the entire western region, *s* and *š* in this position have changed to *v(f)*, e.g., *mefce*, *fefče*, *krufče*. Small differences between the urban and the village dialect can be seen also in relation to the place of stress in the newer stratum of international lexicon. In the dialect of the villages, stress on the antepenultimate syllable is more consistent, e.g., *bómbona* 'candy', *kómanda* 'team', *óficer* 'officer', *télefon* 'telephone', *telefónirat* 'telephone' 3 pl pres, as opposed to *bombóna*, *kománda*, *oficér*, *telefón*, *telefonírat* in the town. In other strata of the language, differences are less noticeable. As more characteristic of the urban dialect, one can note the endings: *-eščem* for the verbal adv, *vikaeščem* 'calling', *ode:ščem* 'going'; *-et* in the 3 pl pres, *vike:t* 'call', *nose:t* 'carry, wear', *zborve:t* 'speak', *stoe:t* 'stand'; and *-ja* in the 3 pl aor and impf, *noseja* 'wore, carried', *dojdoja* 'came', *vikaja* 'called'. In the villages the verbal adv ends on *-jḱi*, the 3 pl pres *-at* (for *e-* and *i*-group verbs), *nosat*, *sečat* 'cut', but *vike:t* 'call', and in the 3 pl aor and impf, *j* is not part of the ending, e.g., *dojdoa > dojdo*^{a}, *nosea > nosj̯a*, *imaa > ima:* 'have'. For stylistic differentiation, some diminutive-hypochoristic suffixes are used in the town, e.g., *pile – pil'ule* and *pil'če* 'chick', *guska – gušče* and *guskule*, *părst – păršče*, *părste părstule*, *părstul'če*, *părstence* 'finger'. The differences are perhaps most numerous in the lexicon. Formations of the type *sužolt* 'yellowish' adj, *suzelen* 'greenish' adj, *sucărn* 'blackish' adj, which are characteristic for the urban dialect, are unusual in the villages. The words *test* 'father-in-law', *tešča* 'mother-in-law', *krăk* 'leg', along with *bl'ut* 'debauchery', *luga* 'ashtray', common in the urban dialect, are today rare in the villages.

5. Archaisms, which have been preserved in either the urban speech only or are also found in some western peripheral regions, should be included here. The reduction of *a* and the open pronunciation of *e*, *o* have not been noted in other local dialects. The phoneme /x/, aside from the dialect of the Mijak oasis of Smilevo (Bitola region) is lost in western Macedonia. Traces of the mixing of **ę* with **ǫ* after *č* is likewise not noted in the western dialects, nor are adv forms in *-eščem*. Examples with *-t* preserved in the final groups *-st*, *-št*, can be still found in the southwestern Kostur region and the dialect of the Torbeš in the Debar region. The consonant groups *tj*, *dj* are found on a wider area. Another group of differentiating features connect this dialect with the Struga region and with the dialects found in the western and southern part of Lake Ohrid: the reflex *ă* for **ǫ* and ъ$_2$, *ăr* for **r̥*, the pronunciation *šč* and *žǯ*, the pres tense ending *-et*, and several lexicalized phonetic features and forms, e.g., *čužina* 'abroad', *cărkov* 'church', etc.

6. These two groups of features, which give the urban dialect its special character in the context of the Ohrid dialect group, provide sufficient material to illustrate how the differentiation process should be treated. In an older stage of its development, when the processes connected with the sound *x* and the consonant groups *tj*, *dj*, *-st*, *-št*, *sc*, *sč*, *šč* had still not started, the Ohrid dialect formed a single unit with the Struga dialect and with the dialects around the shores of Lake Ohrid. The isoglosses **ǫ* > *ă* and **ǫ* > *a* were considerably more east of the eastern shore of the lake. Proof of this is found in toponymns. At the beginning of the sixteenth century inhabitants of the mountain regions, from the dialect zone that had the change **ǫ* > *a*, increasingly descended to the town and the lake. During the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries, the arriving population formed the suburban settlement of Mesokastro in the immediate vicinity to the town, and during the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, Košišta was formed (Urošević 1957). At about this same time, the Turkish and slightly later the Aromanian neighborhoods were created. In this way, the medieval part of the town, today's Varoš and Kaneo, were surrounded not only by the town walls, but by two belts of new suburbs—one with a Macedonian population from a different dialect zone, and the second with a Turkish and Aromanian population. With the arrival of the new population to the lakeside band, the dialectal picture of this area gradually changed. As the border between the **ǫ* > *a* and **ǫ* > *ă* dialects retreated, the urban dialect found itself cut off form its dialect base. In its later development in a new dialectal surrounding, new processes, which also were greatly influenced by the social differentiation of the population, appeared. In their desire to differentiate their "higher" style from the "simple" speech of the peasants, the urban population, which played an important role in both the economic and the cultural life of the entire region, insisted on those features that differentiated the urban dialect from the dialect of the villages. Supported to some extent by the written language, the urban population preserved numerous features, which in the surrounding dialect were changed or were in the process of being lost. These are exactly those features that we have distinguished as archaisms (the sound *x*, the groups *t d* + *j*, *s š* + *č*, *s* + *c*, *-st*, *-št*, *šč*, *žǯ* instead of *tj *dj, the reduction of *a*, the verbal morphemes *-et* and *-eščem*, etc.). The desire for differentiation is noted also in the development of new features. A series of innovations developed more slowly in the urban speech than in the surrounding regions. Thus for example, the vocalic groups *oa*, *oe*, *ea*, which in the surrounding dialects were contracted and changed to *å*, *oi̯*, *i̯a*, e.g., *toar* > *tår* 'load', *goedo* > *goi̯do* 'cattle', *strea* > *stri̯a* 'eaves', were either preserved unchanged *(oe, ea)* in the urban dialect or the process is just now beginning *(oa)*, e.g., *čoek* 'man', *jazoec* 'badger', *lea* or *leʲa* 'garden bed', *toar* 'load', besides *tår*. In the 3 pl of the aor and impf a hiatic *j* appeared before the ending *-a*, which became a part of the morpheme, e.g., *imaja*, *rekoja*, *noseja*. In the same way in the urban dialect, the process of labialization has yet to affect the sonant *l* at the end of the syllable, e.g., *stol*, *stolče* 'chair', versus the case in the surrounding dialects, *stou̯*, *stou̯če*. On the other hand, new features, which are not found in the villages, emerged in the urban dialect. In the town, the ending *-m* is generalized for the 1 sg pres, e.g., *vikam* 'call', *nosam* 'carry, wear', *rečam* 'say'. The analytic dative is dominant for personal names and kinship terms e.g., *Mu reče na Marka, na Stoleta, na Ana* '[s/he] told Marko, Stole, Ana'. From this, it is clear that the urban speech in its new surroundings, due to the economic strength and the important cultural and social role of its representatives, preserved its individuality. Moreover, it influenced to a large degree the dialect of the population which lived in direct contact with the town (in Mesokastro and Košišta). The influence of the urban speech is especially noticeable in Mesokastro, which is located closest to the old part of the town and with which the citizens communicated more.

7. Interesting material is also provided by the dialect of the Torbeš in western Macedonia. Because of specific economic and political conditions in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries and later, a part of the Macedonian Slavic population along the whole border area with Albania was Islamized and formed a

separate ethnic group within the framework of the existing Macedonian ethnic group. In this way on a single territory in a single ethnic-cultural environment, two religious groups were formed: Orthodox Christian and Moslem, which were then further differentiated into two ethno-social groups with religion as the dominant marking: Macedonian-Orthodox, with a living Slavic tradition and clear national identity and Torbeš Moslems, with an indeterminate national identity. These two groups continue to live together today on the same territory. Some settlements are exclusively Christian, some are exclusively Torbeš, but many villages have a mixed population—Orthodox and Moslem, most often separated in neighborhoods. Until the period of Islamization, the population in any given location was unitary by all ethno-social and economic measures. After Islamization, the connections between the communities began to loosen. For a long period, the contact between the two communities was mainly economic and took place at the bazaar, while in all other spheres of existence, the Torebš population remained quite closed. At the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, during the period of great migrations in Macedonia, one part of the Torbeš left their old territory (Debar region) and moved to the central regions of Macedonia. Thus, six Torbeš villages in the Skopje region were formed (Pagaruša, Dolni Količani, Držilovo, Cvetovo, Elovo, Umovo) and two in the Veles region (Gorni Vranovci and Melnica). This population found themselves more isolated in the new Christian surroundings, and were destined to live an even more closed existence.

8. The changes that began with religion, and as a consequence were spread to other areas of life (customs, marriage, dress, architecture, etc.), left visible traces on the language too. Within a single dialect, two variants were gradually differentiated, corresponding to the two ethno-social groups. Today, one finds this dialect differentiation even in the speech of a single mixed village. An example is the Reka village of Rostuša, in which the ratio of Torbeš to Christian population today is 1:1, but prior to 1960 was 1:5. The dialect of this village is mainly Debar of the Mijak type. According to the basic linguistic features characteristic for this area, the Christian population is no different from the Mala Reka Mijak group: nasal **ǫ* and the secondary ъ$_2$ have been replaced with *o* in all positions (*moska* 'mule', *itor* 'shrewd', *ogon* 'fire', *sedom* 'seven'), *r̥* is syllabic, the phoneme *ń* is preserved, *x* changed at syllable end to *f*. One finds deviation from the Mala Reka dialect only in the reflex of vocalic **l̥* , which here is replaced with *ol* (*pl̥no* = *polno* 'full'). The number of features different from the Torbeš dialect in the same village is much larger. In the Torbeš dialect, for example, for nasal *ǫ we find two values which correspond to two phonetic positions: *å* (open *o*) in mono- and disyllabic words and *ạ* in tri- and polysyllabic forms, e.g., *råka* 'hand', *råče* 'hand' dim, but *rạkata* def, *rạcete* pl, *påt* 'path', *påtot* def, but *pạtišta* pl. One encounters such a duality also in the reflex of the vocal *l̥, e.g., *vålk* 'wolf', but *vạlcite* pl, *vạlčica* fem. The secondary ъ$_2$ is reflected differently here too, e.g., *måska* – *mạskata* 'mule' indef and def, *ogan* 'fire', *itar* 'shrewd', *sedum* 'seven', *osum* 'eight', *snåga* – *snạgata* 'strength' indef and def. The consonantal groups *št* and *žd* are preserved, *ń* is hardened, e.g., *kojn* 'horse', *pilina* 'chicks'. This dialect is characterized by other archaic features: the group *čr̥- is preserved, *čărvec'*, *čărpi*, as well as the final *-st*, *-št*, e.g., *ʒist*, 'wall', *prišt* 'boil' *došt* 'rain', the 3 sg of *sum* is *esti*. In the lexicon, the two variants are differentiated mainly by the religious terminology. In the dialect of the Torbeš, Turkish lexical elements (Arabic or Persian) dominate. The Turkish lexical influence is expressed also in other fields of lexicon in the Torbeš dialect, for example, in the terminology connected to dress, amusement, and spiritual life, the interior ordering of the house, in kinship terms, etc. In these areas of the lexicon, a few Albanian words can also be found, as for example, *cuca* 'girl', *nona* 'mother' besides *ana* 'mother', etc. Such differentiating between the speech of the Torbeš and the Macedonian Christian population in the framework of a single settlement in the same dialect region can be seen also in other areas of western Macedonia, where there are Islamized Macedonians (in the Kičevo, Poreče, Prilep, and Struga regions).

9. In the dialect of the villages with a pure Torbeš population, the number of dialect differentiating features is markedly greater. In the dialect of the Torbeš village Žirovnica (in Gorna Reka, Debar region), besides the features already mentioned, characteristic for the dialect of the Rostuša Torbeš (the reflexes *å* – *ạ* for *ǫ, *ål* – *ạl* for *l̥, the preservation of *čr̥-, *-st*, *-št*, the verb form *esti*), some other features appear that differentiate this dialect from the Mala Reka dialect: the reflexes *år* – *ạr* for *r̥, e.g., *pårst* – *pạrstite* 'finger', sg and pl def; the replacement of the secondary ъ$_2$ before *m* with *a*, e.g., *osam* 'eight'; the preservation of the groups *tj dj* in examples of the type *bratja* 'brothers', *cvetje* 'flowers', *livadje* 'meadows', *ogradje* 'fences'; dispalatalization of *ń*; preservation of *č* in the group *čvr̥-, *čvårst* 'firm', *čvạrstina* 'solidity'. In consonantism, the processes that arose in connection with the sound *x* are especially noteworthy. At the end of the word after *a* and *o*, *x* was usually lost, e.g., *vra* 'peak', *gra* 'beans', *stra* 'fear', *siroma* 'poor person', *mo* 'moss', besides *mof* 'moss', after *e* it was changed to *j*, e.g., *grej* 'sin', *mej* 'belly', sometimes also after *u*, e.g., *gluj* 'deaf', *suj* 'dry', *perduj* 'feather', but also *buf* 'owl', *žuf* 'sheepshkin coat'. Before a consonant it most often was replaced with *f (v), buvna* 'burst, erupt' 3 sg aor, *tivna* 'quiet' aor 3 sg, *bofča* 'bundle', and regularly so in the endings *-vme, -fte.* Only before the sonant *l*, was *x* lost, which caused the following consonant to lengthen, e.g., *el:a* 'come' imv, *mel:em* 'balsm', *čel:i* 'shoes'. The consonant groups *s* + *c, č* and *čš* here, as well as in the urban Ohrid dialect, remained unchanged, e.g., *bresče* 'elm' dim, *vosče* 'wax' dim, *grosče* 'copper' dim, *klasče* 'ear' dim, *masca* 'fat' dim, *krušče* 'pear' dim, in isolated examples only assimilation of *s* with *š* occurred, *kvašče* from *kvas* 'yeast'. In morphology, the Žirovnica dialect differs from the dialects of the surrounding Reka villages by the pl ending *-e* for substantives ending on *-a*, e.g., *glave* 'heads', *erebice* 'partridges', by the ending *-m* in the 1 sg pres, e.g., *nosam* 'carry, wear', *vikam* 'call', *sečam* 'cut', by the change of the root vowel for *e-* and *i-*group verbs, e.g., 2 sg, *beriš* 'gather', *seiš* 'sow', *tkaiš* 'weave', *piiš* 'drink', *doržiš* 'hold', *broiš* 'count', 3 sg *beret* 'gather', *peet* 'sing', *tkaet* 'weave', *spiet* 'sleep', *čuet* 'hear', *doržet* 'hold', *sedet* 'sit', *broet* 'count', in the 1 pl *bereme, sedeme,* 2 pl *berete, sedete,* 3 pl *beret, sedet.*

10. Even stronger differentiation is found among those Torbeš villages located in other dialect surroundings. The dialect of the Torbeš in the Veles region villages of Melnica and G. Vranovsi, as well as the dialect of the village Dolno Količani in the Markova river basin (Skopje region), have all of the characteristics of the Žirovnica dialect. But in Melnica and Vranovci in separate examples, a weak *x* is still heard, e.g., *zme*^{x} 'kite', *glu*^{x} 'deaf', *su*^{x} 'dry', alongside *zme, su, bola* 'flea', *kre*^{x}*ko* 'tender', *me*^{x}*lem, ni*^{x}*no* 'their' n sg, *Me*^{x}*med, ti*^{x}*ko* 'quietly' adv, *zdi*^{x}*na* 'take a breadth', *ki*^{x}*net* 'sneeze', *ma*^{x}*ni* 'wave', as well as *bo:la, me:lem , ni:no.*

11. By comparing the dialect of the Torbeš with that in the source area, as in the Ohrid region, two types of phenomena are noted. In the first series, a number of archaic features, which in the dialect of the Orthodox Macedonian population evolved and produced different results, should be emphasized. These are: **čr̥-*, **čvr̥- (čvårst)*; the consonantal groups *-st, -št*; the older degree of evolution is represented also by the groups *št, žd (šč, žǯ)* in place of **tj* **dj*; the sound *x*; the groups *tj, dj, sc, sč, šč*; the verb form *esti*. In the dialect of the Christian villages all of these features have further evolved: **čr̥-* > *cr* (*crvi* 'worms'); **čvr̥- > cvr (cvrs)*; *-st > -s* (*lis* 'leaf, sheet'); *-št > -š (priš)*; *x >* *ø* or *v(f)*; *tj > ḱ, dj > ǵ; sc > fc; sč > fč; šč > fč (mafca, mofče, krufče)*; lexemes with *ḱ, ǵ* for **tj, *dj*, especially in affixes, are dominant here.

The preservation of a large number of archaic features in the Torbeš dialect leads one to conclude that here, after the completion of Islamization and thus the separation of the Torbeš into a special social-ethnic group, some of the processes which had already begun, developed more slowly than in the speech of the Christian population, which had greater contact with other Macedonian dialect regions. Thus, even today a series of phenomena remain in a state of flux, still not complete or stable. The sound *x* provides the most illustrative material in this respect. In different Torbeš groups it is found in different degrees of evolution. In the Melnica dialect, as was seen, in some positions, *x* is still found with weak aspiration. In the speech of the Skopje Torbeš and in some Reka villages it was lost completely. In Žirovnica we have *v* in place of *x* in some separate lexemes and in others *j* developed.

12. A second type are dialect features which developed in the area of the Torbeš and were maintained as markers of distinction of these dialects. In the area of phonetics, there are interesting processes in connection with the development of nasal **ǫ*, the secondary ъ$_2$ and vocalic **l̥* and **r̥*. In the dialect of the Christian Mijak villages, including the Mijak oases in the Veles region (Papradište and Oreše) and in the Bitola region (Smilevo), in root syllables **ǫ* and ъ$_2$ become *o*, e.g., *zop* 'teeth', *zobi* 'teeth' pl, *zobite* def, *zopčińa* 'little teeth', *moska* 'mule', *moskata* def and *snoga – snogata* 'strength' def and indef. In the Torbeš dialect, as was shown, these two sounds were replaced with *å* and *ạ* depending on the number of syllables, i.e., on the length of the word, and in places, on the location of stress. The sonants *r̥* and *l̥* in the Mala Reka dialect function as vowels (*dr̥vo* 'wood, tree', *pl̥no* 'full'), while in the Torbeš dialects, before a sonant a vowel that usually coincides with the reflexes of **ǫ* and ъ$_2$ developed, e.g., *år – ạr, ål – ạl*. More innovations are found in morphology and in the lexicon. Important morphological innovations in the speech of the Reka Torbeš are: the regrouping of the verbs according to the basic vowel, e.g., *sečiš* 'cut', *nosiš* 'carry, wear', but *sečet, noset*, the pl ending *-e* for substantives in *-a*, the dative ending *-etu* for personal names in *-e*, e.g., *Stole – Stoletu* (*Stoleve* in Mala Reka). In the Žirovnica dialect, the innovative phenomena are: the ending *-m* in the 1 sg pres; the pronoun forms *nimnin, ovimnin, onimnin, ovakov, niim*; the use of the preposition *na* with direct objects (*ja prašal na ženata* '[he] asked the woman'). The lexicon of the

Torbeš dialect, as was emphasized above, was renewed with a new layer of words accepted along with Islam from Turkish, and to a lesser degree, from Albanian. On the basis of this stock, some new hybrid formations were later formed with Slavic derivation, as for example, *miǯo* 'uncle', and *miǯojca* 'aunt' as well as *dajǯo* 'uncle' – *dojǯojca* 'aunt', etc. An important specific segment of the Torbeš lexicon are anthroponyms, which are entirely Moslem.

The number of innovative phenomena is still larger, especially in the lexicon, in those Torbeš groups which separated early form their home area and formed settlements in other linguistic surroundings.

13. The processes of the dialectal differentiation in both the Ohrid urban dialect and the Torbeš dialect are very similar. On one hand, a series of processes in these dialects have not been completed and therefore, today are seen as archaisms in comparison with the same phenomena in other Macedonian dialects. On the other hand, innovations arose which are not found in the dialect source zone and as such became characteristic only for those dialects (urban Ohrid, Torbeš). The reasons for both cases are similar—the tendency of a single social group (in one case urban, in the other religious) to differentiate its own speech from the speech of others on the same dialect area.

The Vocalic Systems of Standard Macedonian and the Dialects of Macedonian*

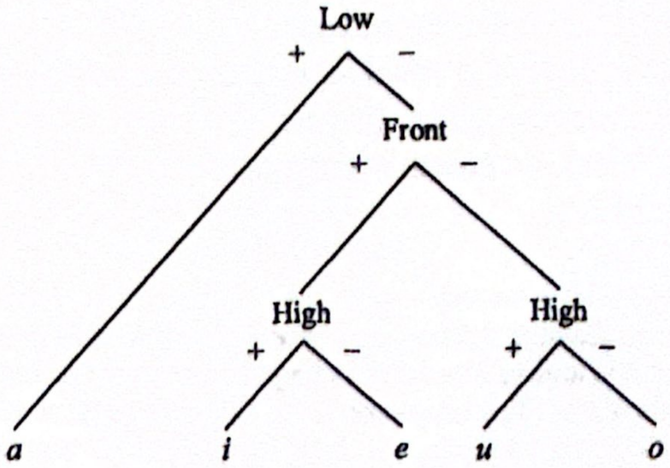
1. The vocalic system of the Macedonian literary language consists of the following five vowels:

i *u*

e *o*

a

The height of the tongue and the place of articulation are the most important features differentiating separate phonemes. For the feature of height, two levels are used here—low (acoustically compact) and non-low, with the latter being sub-divided into high (acoustically diffuse) and non-high. With respect to the place of articulation, we have two series—front and back (acoustically: acute for vowels with high tonality and grave for vowels with low tonality). According to this classification, the entire system can be graphically represented in the following manner.



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In terms of distribution of the vowels in the word, it should be noted that any vowels may be in any position—initial, medial, and final. They have the same quality in both stressed and unstressed syllables. There are no restrictions on their distribution in relation to consonants. Any vowel can stand in contact with a consonant and sequences of two identical vowels are also allowed. Groups of three vowels are not unusual.

1.1. Such a vocal system is characteristic of the central group of dialects (Bitola, Prilep, Kičevo, Poreče, Veles, and in the Skopje region) and for the Mala Reka (Galičnik) dialect.[1] However, between the central dialects and the standard norm, in some positions there are several differences in the realization of individual phonemes, which affects their distribution.

In the dialects, the vowel /i/ in the position after another vowel is realized as a non-syllabic [i̯] which creates a series of diphthongs with two morae, e.g., *snai̯* (< *snai* 'sisters-in-law', *polói̯na* (< *poloina* < *polovina* 'half'), *léboi̯* (< *leboi* < *lebovi* 'loaves of bread'), *strei̯* (< *strei* 'eaves'), *lei̯* (< *lei* 'flower beds'), *mui̯* (< *mui* 'flies'). This does not affect morpheme boundaries with prefixes, e.g., *záigra* 'begin to play, dance', *póigra* 'dance, play for a while', *préigra* 'replay'.

Sequences of two geminate vowels, as a rule, are realized as long vowels lacking phonological status, e.g., *i:* – *zmi:* (< *zmii* 'snakes'), *né:sta* (< *neesta* < *nevesta* 'bride'); *a:* – *sna:* (< *snaa* 'sister-in-law'); *o:* – *progó:ri* (< *progoori* < *progovori* 'speak up'), except at morpheme boundaries with prefixes and between two lexical morphemes, e.g., *záaka* 'begin to wander', *póodi* 'walk a little', *preésapi* 'calculate, estimate'.

In the central dialects, the vowel /e/ after another vowel is also realized as [i̯] in many instances, e.g., *goi̯do* (< *goedo* < *govedo* 'cattle'), *čoi̯k* (< *čoek* < *čovek* 'man'), *oréoi̯c* (< *oreoec* < *oreovec* 'walnut tree') in the dialects of Prilep and Demir Hisar.

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[1] By its distributive features, we can also treat *r̥* as a vowel in a part of the central dialects, but in a large area of Macedonian linguistic territory, and also in the literary language, it has the status of an allophone of /r/. Vocalic *r* is found in these dialects at morpheme boundaries with a prefix, e.g., *zar̥ǵa* 'rust', *prer̥ǵa* 'rust over', *prer̥ti* 'germinate', *pror̥ti* 'germinate, and on the boundary with the masc article morphemes in the lexeme *vr̥v* 'peak', e.g., *vr̥ot*, *vr̥of*, *vr̥on*, and with the pl suffix *-a*, *-oi̯*, e.g., *dva vr̥a* 'two peaks', *vr̥oi̯* and with the lexeme *pr̥ut* 'dandruff', (< *prxut*/*prxot*) also in another position. In the Mala Reka dialect (Galičnik) *l̥* is also a syllabeme, e.g., *vl̥k* 'wolf', *pl̥no* 'full', *žl̥t* 'yellow'.

In the Prilep and Demir Hisar dialects, as well as in the Ohrid–Debarca dialect, the sequence *oa* is realized as *å*, and the sequence *ea* as *ä*, e.g., *bråt* (< *broat* 'count'), *ósnå* (< *osnoa* < *osnova* 'basis'), *tår* (< *toar* < *tovar* 'load'), *strä* (< *strea* < *strexa* 'eaves'), *bä* (< *bea* 'were'), *nä* (< *nea* 'her'). In this way, new sounds were added: open *e*, *o*, which still have the status of positional variants, since in this position, the sequences *ea* and *oa* are not possible (Koneski 1965: 46).

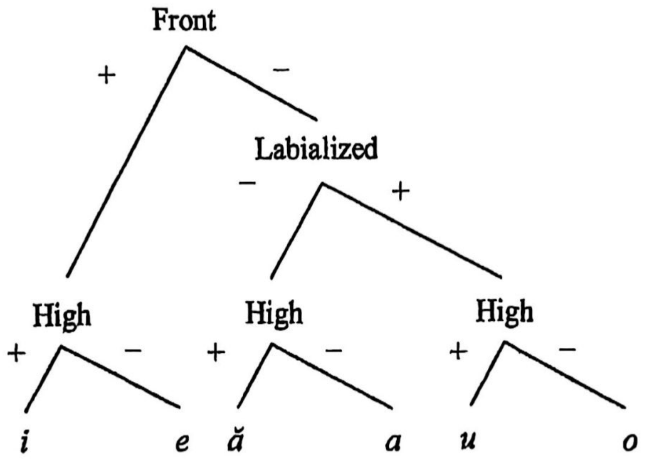
In the Demir Hisar and Debarca dialects, where there is a five-member vocalic system, the group *oa* is also realized as *å*, but *ea* is pronounced as a diphthong *i̯a*, e.g., *bi̯a* (< *bea* 'were'), *stri̯a (< strea)*, *ri̯a* (< *rea* 'stink'), *ni̯a* (< *nea*).[2]

2. In the vocalic system

i ă u

e a o

labialization is also a distinctive feature in addition to the degree of openness and the place of articulation. Three correlative pairs are formed according to the height of the tongue: *e – i*, *ă – a*, and *u – o*. According to place of articulation, the front vowels /i, e/ (acoustically acute) are in correlation with the back vowels /ă, a, u, o/ (acoustically grave), which are further divided according to the feature of labialization into labialized and non-labialized. These pairs can be represented graphically in the following way:



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[2] Historically, this vocalic system developed in relation to CS in the following manner: /i/ < **i*, **y*; /e/ < e, *ь̥, **ě*, **ę*; /a/ < **a*, **ǫ*, *ъ$_2$, /o/ < **o*, *ъ̥, **l̥* (in the sequence *ol*); /u/ < **u*, and in a series of lexemes from **ǫ* and **o*.

The phoneme /ă/ is correlated with /a/ as its high (closed, narrow, acoustically diffuse) pair, and with /u/ as its non-labialized pair.

Geographically, this system covers a wide area. It is found in all the northern dialects, all the eastern and southern dialects and several dialects on the western linguistic periphery—Upper Polog (Gostivar), Debar and the dialects of villages in the Župa region, the Struga dialect and the western part of the Ohrid–Prespa dialect along the entire line from the city of Ohrid and the villages around the lake to Resen and the western Prespa villages all the way to Gramos, including the Kostur region. However, this region is not unified in the distribution of the phonemes, especially the phoneme /ă/, nor the historical development of the system. The distribution of the vowels in the majority of the local dialects is dependent on the origin of the vowel /ă/.

2.1. In the northern dialects in the entire belt from Šar Planina to Bulgarian linguistic territory, the phoneme /ă/ is the reflex of the strong jers, *ъ and *ь, e.g., *dăn* 'day', *dănắs* 'today', *pálăc* 'thumb', *tésăn* 'narrow', *dăš* 'rain', *săn* 'sleep, dream', *pétăk* 'Friday'. In addition, /ă/ developed from the so-called secondary ъ$_2$ in all positions, e.g., *rékăl* 'told', *ógăn* 'fire', *sédăm* 'seven', *ósăm* 'eight', *dóbăr* 'good', *vétăr* 'wind', *mắgla* 'fog', *mắska* 'mule', and in place of vocalic *l* (in the sequence *lă*) after dental consonants, e.g., *dlắgo* 'long', *slắza* 'teardrop', *slắnce* 'sun', *tlắče* 'mash', and in Turkish loan words in place of *ı*, e.g., *kắna* 'henna', *kălắp* 'mold, template', *vakắf* 'muslim charitable establishment', etc.[3]

In these dialects, /ă/ alone has a somewhat restricted distribution. Here, it does not occur in initial position, and is found in final position only where *x* has been lost, e.g., *mă* (*mъxъ* 'moss'). In those cases where *x* has been lost, the vowel /ă/ may enter into sequences with other vowels as the first or second member, or even be duplicated, e.g., *mắăt* (article form of *mă*), *dóbriăt* 'good', and *dóbrijăt*, *grắat* 'bean', *méăt* 'belly', *vráăt* 'peak', *stráăt* 'fear', *oráăt* 'walnut', *búăt* 'owl', all def. As for other vowels, there is no limitation for /ă/ in relation to surrounding consonants.

In relation to the position of the stressed syllable,[4] the vowel system in these dialects did not undergo any fundamental changes. In unaccented positions, the low vowels are not reduced qualitatively. However, in accented syllables, the mid vowels /e, o/ have somewhat more open allophones [ɛ, ɔ] in relation to the literary language, e.g., *bélo* ‘white’, *péče* ‘bake’, *kɔ́sa* ‘hair’, *nɔ́si* ‘carry, wear’ (in Kumanovo and Kriva Palanka). Differences in the realization of /ă/ in accented and unaccented positions are more apparent. In unaccented syllables, /ă/ is an intermediary sound somewhere between *a* and *ă*, but closer to *a*, e.g., *dạnắs* ‘today’, *dắnạt* ‘day’ def, *dắždạt* ‘rain’ def, *pétạk* ‘Friday’ but *dăn*, *dăš*, *ručắk* ‘dinner’ (in Kumanovo) (Vidoeski 1962: 33).

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[3] Note: **ǫ* > /u/, **ě* and **ę* > /e/, **l̥* > /u/ and *lă* or *lu* after dental consonants.

[4] Stress in these dialects is free and fixed morphologically.

2.2. In the Maleševo–Pirin, Štip–Strumica, Tikveš–Mariovo and Lerin dialects, the phoneme /ă/ is the reflex of vocalic *ḷ, e.g., *bắa* ‘flea’, *vắna* ‘wool’, *văk* ‘wolf’, *gắta* ‘swallow’, *dắgo* ‘long’, *žăt* ‘yellow’, *kăk* ‘hip’, *sắza* ‘teardrop’, etc. and is found in Turkish lexemes in place of the vowel *ı*.[5]

In terms of its distribution within the word, the vowel /ă/ is restricted also in these dialects. As a rule, it appears in the root morpheme. It can appear initially only when *x* has been lost, e.g. *ắcka* ‘moan’, *ắcna* ‘moan’, and is never found in final position. The other vowels are not restricted in their distribution—they may be in initial, medial, or final position, with no limitation in relation to consonants. In principle, any vowel may be grouped with any other. It is common for two geminate vowels to be in the same sequence, especially where an initial consonant (*x*, *j*, etc.) has been lost, e.g., *zmíi* ‘snakes’, *kutíi* ‘boxes’, *seéńe* ‘sowing’, *váa* ‘this’, *táa* ‘that’, *odáa* ‘room’, *snáa* ‘sister-in-law’, *jáat* ‘ride’ 3 pl, *práam* ‘do, make’ 1 sg, *zaboráam* ‘forget’ 1 sg, *gnóot* (*gnojot* ‘puss’ def), *móot* (*mojot* ‘my’ def). Contraction occurs only rarely in some local dialects, e.g., *rakí:če* (< *rakiiče* ‘brandy’ dim), *zmí:če* (< *zmiiče* ‘snake’ dim). Phonetically long vowels with compensation appear in these dialects after the loss of *x*, e.g., *me: (< mex), stra:* (< *strax* ‘fear’), *mo: (< mox’), otidó:me* (< *otidoxme* ‘depart’ aor 1 pl), *otidó:te* (< *otidoxte* ‘departed’ aor 2 pl) in Tikveš–Mariovo dialects and in Štip (Filipovski 1952: 15).

In all of the dialects mentioned, regardless of the nature of the stress[6], unaccented vowels are pronounced noticeably shorter, and therefore, one may speak of quantitative allophones.

In some local dialects unaccented vowels in separate words and in separate morphological positions, most often before article morphemes, are completely lost, e.g., *drugárte* (*drugarite* 'friends, comrades'), *žénta* (*ženata* 'woman'), *détto* (*deteto* 'child'), *píl'to* (*pileto* 'chick'), *nášta* (*našata* 'ours'), *bélto* (*beloto* 'white' sg), *bél'te* (*belite* 'white' pl), in the Tikveš dialect.

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[5] In these dialects strong jers gives the reflexes *e* and *o*, respectively, *ǫ > /a/, *ě > /e/, *ę > /e/, and vocalic *r* was maintained.

[6] In Maleševo–Pirin dialects, stress is free and mobile. In Štip–Strumica, stress is free and fixed morphologically. In Tikveš–Mariovo and Lerin stress is free but with the limitation that it does not appear on the final syllable.

In the Tikveš dialect unstressed /a/ in medial syllables is realized as [ạ], a sound with a somewhat raised articulation in the direction of *ă*, which is especially noticeable when it occurs after sonants *r*, *l*, *m*, *n*, e.g., *krạvájče* 'pie, pastry', *nạrạčále* 'order' part pl, *lạžíca* 'spoon', *mạteníca* 'yogurt drink', *pạteríca* 'crutch', *víkạš* 'call' 2 sg pres, *právạt* 'do, make'.

Unaccented /i/ as the second member of vowel sequences and when it is not at the morpheme boundary with a prefix, is realized as [i̯] in most dialects, e.g., *séi̯te* (< *seite* < *sedite* 'sit'), *dai̯š* (< *daiš* < *dadiš* 'give'), *izvái̯te* (< *izvaite* < *izvadite* 'remove'), *kái̯šte* (< *kažite* 'tell'), *kói̯ste* (< *koizte* < *kozite* 'goats'), *moi̯š (< moiš < možiš), blúi̯ste* (< *bluizte* < *bluzite* 'shirts'), *drúi̯ste* (< *druizte* < *druzite* 'friends'), *obúi̯š* (< *obuiš* 'put shoes on' 2 sg pres) in the Tikveš dialect.[7]

2.3. In Upper Polog, Debar, Ohrid–Prespa, Kostur, Kajlar and all Lower Vardar dialects south of the Nidže–Kožuf–Belasica line, including the Gevgelija–Dojran area, the phoneme /ă/ is a reflex of nasal **ǫ* in root morphemes, and of vocalic **r̥* and **l̥* (in the sequences *ăr* – *ră*, *ăl* – *lă*).[8]

The phoneme /ă/ has a more limited distribution within the word in relation to other vowels in these dialects. It does not appear in word-final position, and appears initially only in the sequence *ăr* in several local dialects, e.g., *ărt* 'sprout', *ărš* 'rye', *ărbet* 'back', except in a part of the Lower Vardar dialects where /ă/ can not appear in this position, e.g., *răǵa* 'rust', *răǵéesăn* 'rusty', *răžóf lep* 'rye bread', *răžaníca* 'rye straw' (in Gevgelija and Dojran), *rắjǵa*, *rắžin*, *răžinica* (in Voden). In addition, in the Lower Vardar dialects, there are restrictions on the distribution of /ă/ in relation to *r* in medial syllables. In consonant groups with more than two members, as a rule /ă/ follows *r*, e.g., *krắmnăk* 'hog, porker', *prắstin* 'ring', *trắska* 'reeds', *prắsti* 'fingers' pl, *grắsti* 'handfuls' pl, and later it spread also to *grăs*, *prăs*, *trăn*, but *sărp* 'sickle', *dắrvu*, *zắrnu* 'grain', and even *părt* (< *prъt* < *prǫtъ* 'rod), *stắrga*

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[7] Here, as in the northern dialects, *r* functions as a syllabeme when it is located in the position between two consonants and initially before a consonant. It appears next to a vowel when in position at the morpheme boundary with a prefix, which ends in a vowel, e.g., *zaŕ̥ga* 'rust', *por̥̂ka* 'snore a bit', and before article and pl forms of the lexeme *vr̥* 'peak' (final *x* lost): *vr̥ot, vŕ̥ovi/vŕ̥ove, dva vŕ̥a.*

[8] **ь̥* > /e/, **ъ̥* > /o/, **ě* > /e/, **ę* > /e/.

(< străga) 'fence', *gắrdi* (< *grădi* 'breasts') (the village Kroncelevo in the Voden region).

In relation to the distribution of other vowels, there are important differences between the western **ǫ>ă*-dialects (Gostivar, Debar, Ohrid–Prespa) and the southern *ă*-dialects (Kostur–Lerin, Lower Vardar and Serez–Lagadina).

2.3.1. In the western **ǫ* > *ă*-dialects the formation of many vocalic sequences of geminate or different vowels was made possible by the loss of a series of consonants in intervocalic position. Sequences of two same vowels as a rule are realized as long sounds, except when they are located at the boundary between two lexical morphemes and between a prefix and a root morpheme, e.g., *kúti: (kutii), zmi: (zmii), ne:sta (neesta), ova:* 'this', *uba:* (< *ubaa* < *ubava* 'beautiful' adj fem sg), *sna: (snaa), négo:* (*negoo* < *negovo* 'his'), *búko:* (*bukoo* < *bukovo* 'beech' adj n). Length acquired in this way can not be considered as phonological quantity, since under the same conditions, sequences of two geminate vowels do not appear in these dialects.

In sequences with *i* as the second element in all western **ǫ* > *ă*-dialects, as well as in other western dialects, the vowel /i/ is realized as [i̯] with the exceptions mentioned in 1.2 above, e.g., *lei̯ (lei), snai̯ (snai), greoi̯ (greoi < greovi), pérdui̯* (*perdui* < *perduvi* 'feathers'). In the Struga dialect, the vowel /i/ is realized as [i̯] also before another vowel, e.g., *fati̯e* (*fatie* 'grasp' 3 pl), *izmi̯en* (*izmien* 'washed' part masc sg), *kopri̯a* (*kopria* < *kopriva* 'nettle'), *sečio* (*sečio* < *sečivo* 'blade'). In the same dialect in this position, the vowel /e/ is realized as [i̯] e.g., *li̯a (lea), pi̯ač* (*peač* 'singer'), *čeri̯o (čereo < čerevo), li̯onka* (*leonka* 'nursing mother'), as long as no phonetic or semantic barrier is present, e.g., *meot* 'belly', *greota* 'shame, pity'.

In these dialects, other vowel sequences composed of different vowels were eliminated in various ways. In the Struga dialect, for example, the groups *oa* and *oe* are realized as *va, ve*, e.g., *tva* (*toa* 'that'), *tvar* (*toar* < *tovar* 'load'), *čvek* (*čoek* < *čovek* 'man'), *gvedo* (*goedo* < *govedo* 'cattle'). To a more limited degree, this phenomenon may be followed also in the southern Ohrid villages, and in several locations on the western shore of Lake Prespa, e.g., *tvar*, *rekva* (*rekoa* 'say' 3 pl), *gotva* (*gotoa* < *gotova* 'finished' adj fem sg), but *osna:* (*osnoa* < *osnova* 'basis') in the village Peštani. In other areas of the Ohrid–Prespa dialect, *oa* is realized as *o:*, e.g., *to:r*, *osno:*, and the group *oe* as long as it is not separated by a hiatic *j*, e.g., *čo*^{j}*ek* or *čojak*, *gojadar* 'cowherd', is realized as *e:*, e.g., *če:k* (in Prespa).

In a number of cases the group _ae_ is also contracted to a long _e:_, e.g., _ze:dno_ (_zaedno_ ‘together’), _zne:t_ (_znaet_ ‘knows’), _zaboré:no_ (_zaboraeno_ <_zaboraveno_ ‘forgotten’), or is realized as _ai̯_, _dvái̯set_ ‘twenty’, _dvanái̯set_ ‘twelve’, _zaborái̯ni_, _zai̯no_ (_zajedno_ ‘together’ adv).

In this way, as in other western dialects, new length was created in these dialects as well as a whole series of diphthongs, e.g., _i̯e_, _i̯a_, _i̯o_, _ei̯_, _ai̯_, _oi̯_, _ui̯_ (Vidoeski 1955: 135).

This tendency of developing long vowels (syllables) liable to contraction may be observed also in the southern *_ǫ>ă_-dialects: _i:_ – _ni:_ (_nie_ ‘we’), _žni:_ (_žnie_ ‘reap’), _Ili: (Ilija)_, _zmi:_ (_zmia_ ‘snake’); _e_ – _ne:_ (_nea_ ‘her’), _le: (lea)_, _pe:t_ (_peat_ ‘sing’); _a:_ – _za:r_ (_zagar_ ‘greyhound’), _ra:t_ (_raat_ ‘peace’), _zna:_ (_znae_ ‘know’); _o:_ – _o:t_ (_oat_ < _odat_ ‘go’), _so:_ (_soa_ ‘owl’), _bro:t_ (_broat_ ‘count’), _sto:_ (_stoe_ ‘stand’), _mo:_ (_moe_ ‘my’); _u:_ – _mu:_ (_mua_ ‘fly, insect’), _du:_ (_due_ ‘blow’), and with compensation, e.g., _me:sto_ (< _mesoto_ ‘meat’ def), _se:lto_ (_seloto_ ‘village’ def), _ma:sta_ (_masata_ ‘table’ def), _ko:sta_ (_kozata_ ‘goat’ def), _l’u:to_ (_l’uǵeto_ ‘people’ def), or _viká:me_ ‘call’ 1 pl pres, _vidé:me_ ‘see’1 pl pres (all examples are from the Dojran dialect) (Peev 1979: 8–10).

In the southern dialects, diphthongs that developed from the dissyllabification of _i_ after a vowel are common, e.g. _sei̯_ (_sedi_ ‘sit’), _rei̯š_ (_režiš_ ‘cut’), _dái̯še_ (_dadiše_ ‘gave’), _jai̯š_ (_jadiš_ ‘eat’), _vói̯čka_ (_vodička_ ‘water’), _moi̯š_ (_možiš_ ‘can, able’), _vắi̯ca_ (_vădica_ ‘hook’), _lắi̯š_ (_lăžiš_ ‘lie’ 2 sg), _glúi̯te_ (_gluite_ ‘deaf’ pl def), _drúi̯ste_ (_druzite_ ‘others’), _čui̯š_ (_čuiš_ ‘hear’), even _bii̯š_ (_bidiš_ ‘be’), _vii̯š_ (_vidiš_ ‘see’).

2.3.2. There is no unified realization of vowels in relation to the place of stress in the dialects with a six-member vocalic system.[9]

In the framework of the western *_ǫ>ă_-dialects, the urban Ohrid and Lower Vardar dialects have a specific feature in common, namely the vowel /a/ in stressed non-initial position is realized as [ă]. As a consequence, there is no opposition between _a_ and _ă_ in this position, e.g., _kapắi̯ca_ (_kapavica_ ‘rainwater’), _domắḱinka_ – _domaḱinkata_ ‘hostess’ fem def, _arắmija_ – _aramíjata_ ‘bandit’, _magắrica_ – _magarícata_ ‘donkey’ fem, _magắreno_ – _mágare_, and in the accentual groups _bela-kắšlica_ ‘whooping cough’, _ovắ-dete_ ‘this child’,

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[9] In the Upper Polog, Debar, and Ohrid–Prespa dialects, stress is fixed on the third syllable from the end in words with three or more syllables (morae). In the Lower Vardar dialect, stress is free and determined morphologically. In the Kostur dialect, there is limited free stress (it cannot be placed on the final syllable) with a tendency to stabilize on the penultimate.

(Ohrid), *vlačắrnica* 'spinning yarn', *na dvắ-păti* 'two times' (Polog). There are no other differences between accented and unaccented vowels.

In the Lower Vardar (Gevgelija, Dojran, Kukuš, Solun, Voden, Pazar, Kajlar), Serez–Drama and the southeastern part of the Lerin–Kostur dialects, the vowels /e, a, o/ in unaccented syllables are subject to qualitative reduction. It should be noted however, that among the individual local dialects of these dialect groups, there exists variations in both the intensity of this reduction as well as in the morphological position where such processes occur.

The most intense reduction takes place in the southern part of the Solun–Voden region. In this region the vowels /e, a, o/ change into their high correlates: *e > i, a > ă, o > u*. Therefore the opposition low-high, i.e., compact–diffuse is nullified, e.g., *izík'*, *dibéli*, *sidélu*, *járim*, *dévir* (< *ezik* 'tongue, language', *debeli* 'fat' adj masc pl, *sedelo* 'nest', *jarem* 'yoke', *dever* 'brother-in-law'), *mălínă*, *ărămíjă*, *zăójǵă*, *názăt* (< *aramija*, *malina* 'raspberrry', *zaojǵa* 'sunset' vb, *nazad* 'backwards'), *ulóvu*, *urél*, *kubílă*, *vósuk*, *máčur*, *sókulut*, *suu* (< *olovo* 'lead, ore', *orel* 'eagle', *kobila* 'mare', *vosok* 'wax', *mačor* 'tom cat', *suo* 'dry' adj n). Thus, the opposition of compactness has been lost in the Voden dialect, the vowel system in unaccented position contains three members:

i ă u

To the north and west toward the periphery of this dialect region, the degree of reduction weakens, especially in the final position where vowels assume the grammatical function of being inflectional. Along a wide stretch following the Kajlar–Lake Ostrovo–Meglen–Gevgelija–Dojran–Kukuš line, low vowels in final position are realized either as [ẹ, ạ, ọ], i.e., allophones with a somewhat raised articulation in the direction of their corresponding high correlates /i, ă, u/, or do not undergo any qualitative change (Vidoeski 1977, 1978), e.g., *vréme – vrémito* 'time, weather', *jájce – jájcitu* 'egg', *séme – simína* 'seed' sg, pl, *brášno – brášnuto* 'flour', *slábo – slábuto* 'weak', *bíška – bíškăta* 'swine' all indef – def, *bába – bábă-mu* 'his grandmother' (Kajlar), *uráč* 'plowman', *sulén* 'salty', *jávur* 'maple' vs. *sélo* 'village', *guvédo* 'cattle', *jávuro* 'maple' adj; *ilén* 'deer', *zilén* 'green', *vičéra* 'supper' vs. *séme* 'seed', *íme* 'name' *glávăta* 'head' def vs. *gláva*, *gávrăn* 'crow', *glăvína* 'head's' (Dojran), *nísuk* 'low', *kópăn* 'dug', *žlibína* 'furrow' vs. *gắrlo* 'throat', *méo* 'belly', *óko* 'eye', *póle* 'field', *snópe* 'bundle' (Krecovo village, Kukuš region). Final open syllables, where the vowel is the carrier of important morphological information, are not treated as a weak position (Koneski 1976).

The village of Kroncelevo in the Voden region, which is located on the linguistic border with the Meglen dialect, provides interesting material on reduction at the end of a word. Here only the vowel /e/ is not reduced in word-final position, e.g., *vréme*, *póle*, *zdráve* 'health', *zắbe*, *bíle*, but *vădícă*, *pulíjnă* 'fields', *glétu* 'chisel', *sítu* 'sieve', *smrékuvu dắrvu* 'juniper tree'. These examples show that the feature of compactness is preserved only for front vowels, and lost for back vowels. This is a good example of a gradual weakening which led to the elimination of a differentiating feature.

On the periphery of this region, another phenomenon is present. Reduction is weakened the further one moves from its source to the periphery, to the point where it is limited to individual lexemes or groups of lexemes. Examples with *u* in place of *o* in unaccented syllables after velar consonants are found in many more northern dialects, which do not have reduction as a phonetic process, e.g., *kuléno* 'knee', *sékuj* 'everyone', *nékuj* 'someone', *níkuj* 'no one', *kušúla* 'shirt', *gudína* 'year' in the Tikveš, Strumica, and other eastern dialects.

We noted above that the vowel /e/ in unaccented positions is realized as [ẹ] or merges with /i/. We should also point out, however, that in a number of cases it merges with the vowel /ă/ in unaccented syllables. In the southern part of the Lower Vardar dialects this occurs in positions before sonants *m*, *n*, *l*, *l'*, *r*, e.g., *vắzăl (vắzel)* 'knot', *kótăl* 'cauldron', *pétăl* 'rooster', *véčăr* 'evening', *nă-mužáx* '[I] could not' (Kroncelevo). In the suffixes *-el* and *-en*, this pronunciation spread later to the adjacent Lerin and Kostur dialects. In the Dojran dialect and in the northern part of the Kukuš dialect, the change of unaccented *e* to *ă* has spread more widely, and is found in other phonetic environments, e.g., *guvădár* 'cowherd', *pătél*, *pădăsé* 'fifty', *svăkór* 'father-in-law', *nădél'a* 'Sunday, week', *júnăc* 'bullock', *dévăt* 'nine' (Dojran), *čăréša* 'cherry', *părdúx* 'feather', *vrémăto* (Kukuš).

2.4. In the Serez–Drama speech area, the phoneme /ă/ is the reflex of not only **l̥*, **r̥*, **ǫ* but also the strong *ъ, e.g., *bắčvạ* 'tub, barrel', *văn* 'outside', *dăš* 'rain', *săn* 'sleep, dream', *mạžă* 'man' def, *kạkăf* 'what kind of' (in the Ziljahovo and Belica dialects).[10] These dialects also differ somewhat from the

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[10] In all dialects belonging to this group **ь* and **ę* > /e/, **y* > /i/, and **ě* > /e/, in all positions in the Ziljaxovo dialect, e.g., *véra* 'belief, faith', *vréme*, *réka* 'river', but in Serez and southern Drama villages **ě* > /'a/ in accented syllables regardless of the character of the following syllable, e.g., *b'al*, *b'álọ*, *b'áli* 'white', and /e/ in unaccented syllables, e.g., *rikắta* (< *rekắta*) but *r'áka*. See Ivanov 1977: 62, 69.

Lower Vardar dialects in the distribution of *ă*. Here *ă* may be at the beginning of the word, e.g., *ăf* (< *văf* 'in'). In the Mrvaš and Ziljaxovo dialects, the vowel /ă/ as a rule comes before the sonants *l*, *r* with the exception of several instances when there are two or more consonants after the sonant, e.g., *vărx* 'peak', *gărp* 'back', *kărs* 'cross', *sărp* 'sickle', *văl'k* 'wolf', *žălt* 'yellow', *vắrxọvẹ* 'peaks', *zắrnọ* 'grain', *sắlzi* 'teardrops', *vắlna* 'wool', *mắrsno* 'fatty', but *trănlíf* 'throny' adj, *trắnka* 'thorn berry', *trắgna* 'start', *slắnce* 'sun', and in the single-syllable words *trăn* 'thorn', *dlăk* 'long'. In the Belica dialect, however, /ă/ most often follows the sonants *l*, *r*, e.g., *răš*, *krăf*, *prăs*, *srăp*, *slắnce*, *slắza* 'teardrop'.

In these dialects, as in the Lower Vardar dialects, there are differences in the realization of unstressed vowels.[11] In unstressed syllables, the vowels /e, a, o/ are reduced in all positions of the word, including the final open syllable. Unstressed /e/ is realized here as [ẹ], e.g., *kámẹn* 'stone', *ménẹ* 'me', *pílẹ* 'chick'. In the Ziljaxovo and Belica dialects, it can also shift completely to /i/, e.g., *jázikạ* 'I', *zilén* 'green' adj m, *misičínạ* 'moon'.

The vowel /o/ is reduced to [ọ] or completely shifts to /u/, especially in pre-tonic position, e.g., *árnọ* 'fine', *vínọ* 'wine', *dójdọx* 'arrive', but *urálọ* 'plough', *ucét'* 'vinegar', *puznáx* 'know' 1 sg aor.

Unstressed /a/ is realized as a raised sound in the direction of *ă* but closer to *a* with an allophone [ạ], e.g., *bárạ*, 'search', *kạkó* 'how', *sạpún* 'soap'.

In these dialects, even unstressed /ă/ undergoes a type of "reduction." In unstressed syllables, it is realized as a sound close to *a*. In fact, /ă/ and /a/ are neutralized in unstressed positions, e.g. *kạpínạ* (< *kăpína* 'bramble'), *pạtúvạm* (< *pătúvam*, 'travel' 1 sg pres), *lạžícạ* (*lăžíca* 'spoon'), *pétạk* (< *petăk* 'Friday').

From this we may conclude the following: the vowels /e, o/ in unstressed syllables have allophones [ẹ, ọ], and in some cases, the oppositions *e* – *i* and *o* – *u* are neutralized; the pronunciation of unstressed /a/ and /ă/ is neutralized, and thus the opposition of compactness is eliminated.

In stressed positions, the vowel /o/ in the Mrvaš region of the Drama dialect area and in Ziljaxovo is pronounced as a diphthong *ᵘo* regardless of where it is located in the word, e.g., ^{u}*óko* ‘eye’, ^{u}*ógạn’* ‘fire’, *b*^{u}*os* ‘barefooted’, *m*^{u}*oj* ‘my’, *s*^{u}*oļ’* ‘salt’.

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[11] Stress in these dialects is free and mobile, e.g., *grát* – *grádọvẹ*, sg – pl, *grạdắ* // *grạdó* 'town' def, *pílạ* – *píli* 'chick' sg, pl indef vs. *pilắtạ* // *pilátạ* – *pilítẹ* sg, pl def, *pérọ* vs. *pẹrá* 'quill' sg, pl, – *pẹrótọ* - *pẹrátạ* sg, pl, def; *čélọ* – *čélọtọ* 'forehead' sg indef and def vs. *čẹlá* – *čẹlátạ* pl indef and def. These dialects also have a secondary stress in cases of the type: *grádọvètọ* 'towns', *kátẹrìcạ* 'squirrel', *číčọvòtọ* 'uncle's'.

Thus, the following sounds (phones) occur in the Serez–Drama dialect:

a) in strong (stressed) position

i		*u*
e	*ă*	^{u}*o*
	a	

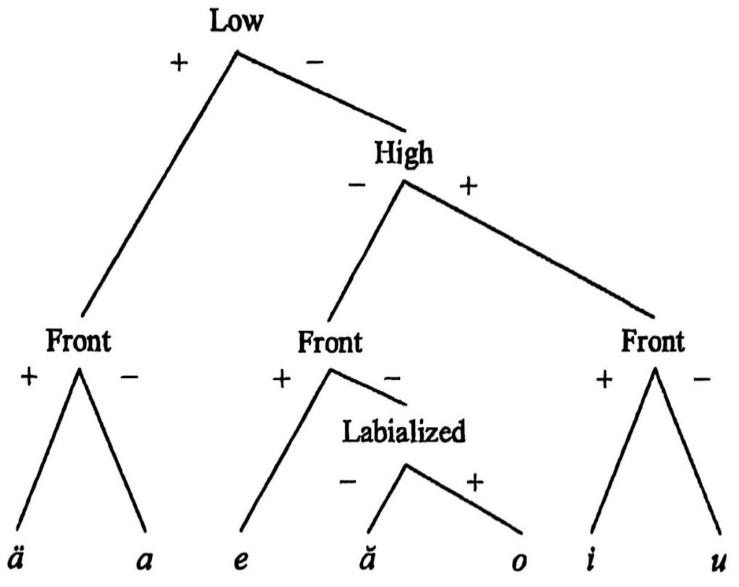
b) in weak (unstressed) position

i		*u*
(ẹ)		*(ọ)*
	ạ	

3. The seven-member vocalic system is characteristic for the Suho–Visoka, Goce Delčev and Razlog dialects:

i		*u*
e	*ă*	*o*
ä	*a*	

In this system besides the height of the tongue and the place of articulation, labialization is a distinctive feature. Thus we have the following correlated pairs:



The phoneme /ä/, as can be seen, is the front correlate of /a/, and /ă/ is the non-labialized correlate of /o/ and the back correlate of /e/. The phonetic realizations and distributions of these vowels are not the same in all dialects mentioned.

3.1. In the Suho–Visoka dialect, as well as in the village of Zarova, the reflex of **ě* and, in a number of cases **ę*, is *ä*, e.g., *br'äk* 'shore', *l'äp* 'bread', *l'ätu* 'summer', *čuv'ä́k* 'man', *m'ä́sinc* 'month', *kuč'ä́nta* 'dogs', and *ă* is the reflex of strong **ъ*, *dăš*, *dăx* 'breath', *săn*, and of nasal **ǫ* in root morphemes, *gắska* 'goose', *kắšta* 'house', *rắka* 'hand', or in sequences with a nasal sonant, *gắmba* 'mouth', *dămp* 'oak', *rắmbiš* (before labial consonants), *vắnʒil'* 'knot', *kắndu* 'where', *lănk* 'bow', vocalic *l* and *r* (in the sequences *ăr*/*ră*, *ăl*/*lă*): *gắrlu* 'throat', *trăn* 'thorn', *vắlna* 'wool', *slắnce* 'sun', and in the village of Visoka *ă* is also the reflex of **y* in all positions, e.g., *băl* 'was', *kắsale* 'sour', *kắtka* 'bouquet, bunch', *săn* 'son', *blắxạ (< *blъxy)* 'fleas' (Golomb 1962/63: 235).

Only the phonemes /ä/ and /ă/ have restricted distribution within the word and in relation to consonants. The former, /ä/, palatalizes preceding consonants, e.g., *b'äl*, *v'ä́ra* 'faith', *ď'äl* 'part', *p'äna* 'foam', *sf'ät* 'world', etc. The phoneme /ă/ as a rule appears after hard consonants. It follows the liquids *l*, *r* in initial position, e.g., *răš*, *răžda* 'give birth', *lắska* 'hazel bush'. In medial position, it may precede or follow liquids, depending on the number of consonants and the nature of the consonant cluster, e.g., *gắrlu*, *zắrnu* 'grain', *trăn*, *vrắba* 'willow', *grănčárin* 'potter', *vắlna*, *pắlin* 'full' adj, *dlắngu* 'long' adv, *slắnce*.

These two phonemes are even more restricted in sequences with other vowels. Clusters with both /ä/ and /ă/ are rare. As for stress, low vowels are realized in a variety of ways in this dialect as in other southeastern dialects.[12]

The vowels /e/ and /o/ in unaccented syllables in all positions of the word are merged with their corresponding high correlates: *e* > *i*, *o* > *u*, thus the opposition between high and low is lost for these vowels, e.g., *móri – murétu* 'sea', *čindá – čéndu* 'child', *grindáta – grénda* 'beam', *bujót – boj* 'bottle', *kuzáta – koza* 'goat' all def – indef.

Unstressed /ä/, /ă/, and /a/ are realized as a central sound between *ă* and *a*, but closer to the latter, thus the allophone [ạ] e.g., *mạjá* 'my' fem, *mlạdustá* 'youth', *bạrátạ – bárạ* 'puddle' def indef, *dạmbót – dămp*, *dạždót – dăš* def indef, *m'ạsá – m'äsu* 'meat', *r'ạkátạ – r'äkạ* 'river', *sn'ạgót – sn'äk* 'snow' all def – indef.

Thus in the Suho–Visoka dialect, in unstressed position, the entire system is represented by three phones:

i *u*

ạ

From this we can conclude that the phonemes /i/ and /u/ may appear in both stressed and unstressed syllables, but the phonemes /e, o, ă, ä, a/ are realized in their basic allophonic shape only in stressed (strong) position.

3.2. This same system occurs, as we mentioned, in the Goce Delčev (Nevrokop) dialect and in several villages in the northern Mrvaš region. In these dialects, however, some vowels have a more limited distribution than in the Suho–Visoka dialect. Thus, for example, back non-labialized vowels /ă, a/ are significantly fronted after palatalized consonants, that is, they are in the articulatory sphere of front vowels. The vowel /ă/ in this position has an allophone [ε], e.g., *m*ᵘ*ól'ε* 'ask' 1 sg pres, *víd'εt* 'see' 3 pl pres, *pắt'ε* 'road' def, *visókijε* 'high' def. The vowel /a/ merges with /ä/ in stressed syllables, and with /e/ in unstressed syllables, e.g., *prijä́tel'* 'friend', *ž'ä́l'ba* 'complaint', *č'ä́š'e* 'glass, cup', *pójes* 'belt', *š'emár'* 'slap', *l'úl'e* 'swing, rock' 3 sg, *obíčej* 'custom', *slúš'ej* 'hear' 2 sg imv.

Here too the vowel /ä/ appears only in stressed syllables, but only if the following syllable has a front vowel, and in the Mrvaš dialect, if it follows a syllable containing a palatalized consonant e.g. *gọl' ä́mi* 'big' pl, *d'ä́te* 'child',

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[12] Stress here is free and mobile.

m'ä́sec 'month, moon', *prijä́tel'*, *č'ä́š'e*, *ž'ä́l'ba* (in Goce Delčev) (Mirčev 1963: 28), *bä́še* 'was', *vrä́me* 'time, weather', *sä́me* 'seed', *mrä́ža* 'net, screen', *nidä́l'a* 'week, Sunday', *mlä́č'na* 'milk' adj (in Mrvaš).

Besides this, the vowels /e, o/ in stressed syllables are pronounced more closed in the dialect of Goce Delčev in comparison with Suho–Visoka. The vowel /o/ is realized as a diphthong [ᵘo], e.g., *ᵘóči* 'eyes', *mᵘóst* 'bridge', *ťᵘórba* 'suitcase'.

In this dialect, the unstressed vowels /e, o, a/ are subjected to reduction and are realized as [ẹ, ọ, ạ] after a stressed syllable, or merge with the vowels /i, ă, u/, most often before a stressed syllable. Therefore we have the following phones in stressed position:

i		*u*
ẹ	*ă*	*ᵘo*
ä	*a*	

and in unstressed position

i		*u*
(ẹ)	*ă*	*(ọ)*
	(ạ)	

3.3. In the Razlog dialect in stressed position the vowel system takes the following form:[13]

i		*u*
e	*ă*	*o*
ä	*a*	

The vowel /ă/, which in this dialect occurs only as is the reflex of vocalic *l̥ and vocalic *r̥ (in the sequences *ră*/*ăr*), has a limited distribution. For example, it is not found in final position and in initial position is registered only in *ắcam* 'stone' 1 sg pres. As a rule, it follows the sonant *r*, e.g., *brắdu* 'hill',

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[13] The vowel /ä/ is the reflex of *ě in stressed syllables; in unstressed syllables *ě > /e/, e.g., *mlä́ku*: – *mlekóto* 'milk' indef – def, *rä́ka* – *rekáta* 'river' indef – def. In several instances, /ä/ occurs as the reflex of *ę, also only in stressed syllables, e.g., *cä̆ftä́*, 3 pl pres, but *móle* 'ask', *nóse* 'carry', 1 sg.

vrắba ‘willow’, *drắvu* ‘tree, wood’, *grắlu* ‘throat’, *crăvén* ‘red’, with the exception of the dialect of Bansko, where the sequence is *ăr*, e.g., *gắrlu*, *cărvén.*[14]

In the Razlog dialect, only the vowels /o/ and /a/ are subject to reduction (Aleksiev 1931: 98–99).[15] Unstressed /o/ changes to /u/ in all positions so the opposition of compactness between these two phonemes is eliminated, e.g., *sélu* ‘village’, *vudáta* ‘water’ def, *nạpuíl* ‘water’ vb. Unstressed /a/ is realized as [ạ], with a slightly higher articulation in the direction of *ă*, but the distinction between these two phonemes is not neutralized.

Thus, in unstressed position in this dialect we have the following allophones:

i		*u*
e	*ă*	
	ạ	

4. In three relatively small areas in the western periphery, in the zone bordering Albanian (in the Drimkol–Golo Brdo dialect in the Debar region, in Lower Prespa and in the Nestram dialect in the Kostur region) the following vocalic system is found:

i	*u*
e	*o*
a	*å*

Beside the degree of openness, labialization here functions as a relevant distinctive feature. The phoneme /å/ is the labial correlate of /a/ and correlates with /o/ according to openness: /å/ is low (wide, acoustically compact). Graphically these oppositions can be represented in the following way:

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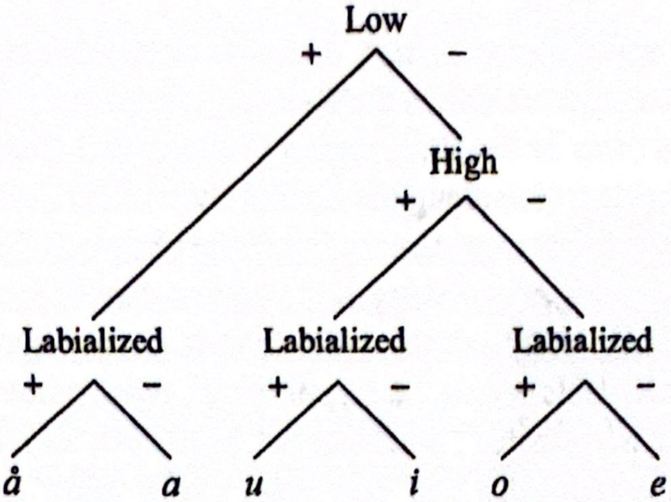
[14] In this dialect *ǫ > /a/, e.g., *váglen* ‘coal’, *máka* ‘torment’, *pat’* ‘path’; *ъ̥ > /a/ in root morphemes and /o/ in suffixes and in inflectional forms, e.g., *báčva* ‘barrel’, *daš*, *san*, *pesók*, *vạtók* ‘thread’, *kạkóf* ‘what kind’, *subíram* (< *sobiram* ‘collect’); *ь̥ > /e/, e.g., *den* ‘day’; *l̥ > /ắ/, e.g., *băá*, *vắk* ‘wolf’, *gắta* ‘swallow’, *žắt* ‘yellow’, *sắnce* ‘sun’.

[15] Stress here is free and mobile.



In this dialect too, the distribution of the phonemes /a, u, i, o, e/ is not limited in anyway, not in their position in the word, nor in relation to neighboring consonants, nor by the location of stress.[16] In vowel sequences, as in other western dialects, the vowel /i/ was dissyllabified when following another vowel, when not at the morpheme boundary with a prefix, e.g. *grei̯* (< *grei* < *gredi* 'beams'), *jái̯me* (< *jaime* < *jadime* 'eat' 1 pl pres), *glai̯* (< *glai* < *glavi* 'heads'), *léboi̯* (< *leboi* < *lebovi* 'loaves of bread'), *mui̯* (< *mui* < *muvi* 'flies, insects').

Concerning the location of stress, it should be noted that in the Nestram dialect, stressed /o/ is realized with a high degree of labialization, as [^{u}o], e.g., ^{u}*óko* 'eye', ^{u}*ófca* 'sheep', *k*^{u}*óska* 'bone', *k*^{u}*óza* 'goat', *m*^{u}*óži* 'men'.

The vowel /å/ has a more restricted distribution than other vowels. It appears only in root morphemes, and very rarely, in vowel sequences.[17]

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[16] In both the Drimkol–Golo Brdo and the Lower Prespa dialects, stress is fixed on the antepenultimate syllable, while in the Nestram dialect it is free but tends to stabilize on the penultimate. In the Drimkol–Golo Brdo dialect /å/ is the regular reflex of vocalic *r̥ and *l̥ (always in the sequences *år, ål*), e.g., *bålva* 'flea', *vålk* 'wolf', *vålčica* 'she-wolf', *vålna* 'wool', *zårno* 'grain', *råġa* 'rust,' etc. In the Lower Prespa dialect, only vocalic *l̥ give the reflex *å*, but in contrast with the Drimkol dialect, *l* in most cases was lost, e.g., *båa* 'flea', *bågarin* 'Bulgarian', *våk* 'wolf, etc. (D. Dupeni village). Vocalic *r̥ is preserved here, e.g., *vr̥f* 'top, peak', *gr̥ne* 'clay bowl', *pr̥sti* 'fingers'. In the Nestram dialect, *l̥ is replaced with *ol* e.g., *bola* (< *bolva*), *volk* 'wolf', *volna* 'wool', *golta* 'swallow', *žolt* 'yellow', *poln* 'full', and *r̥ has the reflex *ăr*, e.g., *dărvo* 'wood, tree', *vărba* 'willow', *sărp* 'sickle'.

[17] In all three dialects /å/ is the reflex of *ǫ in root morphemes, e.g., *båbotit* 'babble', *vnåtre* 'inside', *gnås* 'filth', *grådi* 'breasts', *dåga* 'rainbow', *dåbje* 'oak grove', *zåbi* 'teeth', (in Drimkol–Golo Brdo, see Vidoeski 1968: 85–88), *våntre*, *dåp* 'oak', *jåglen* 'coal', *jåže* 'rope', *kåpina* 'blackberry', *måka* 'torment', *såbota* 'Saturday' (in Lower

5. The previous vowel system /i, u, e, o, a, å/ is characteristic also for the Macedonian Moslem communities in the Reka region (Debar region) and for the isolated Moslem areas in the Veles region (Melnica and Gorno Vranovci), as well as in the Skopje region along the Kadina river valley (Držilovo, Cvetovo, Pagaruša, and others). The only exception is the phoneme /å/, which has two realizations: [å] in stressed syllables in mono- and disyllabic words and [ạ], a phone between *a* and *å*, but closer to the former, in unstressed positions and under stress in trisyllabic words,[18] e.g., *påt* 'path', *påtot, påton* both def, *påtče* 'path' dim, but *pạ́tišča* 'paths', *pạtíščata* def, *pạtíščana, ná pạt* 'on the path', *pót pạt* 'along the path', *dvá pạti* 'two times'; *råka* 'hand' sg, *råce* pl, *råče* 'hand' dim, but *rạkata, rạkana, rạ́četo,* all def, *rạ́čule* 'small hand', *rạ́čišče* 'large hand' indef, *rạčíščata* pl def, and also *pód rạka* 'by the hand', *ná rạka* 'on a hand', *prí rạka* 'at hand'; *vålk* 'wolf', *vålci* pl, *vålkot* def, *vålče* 'wolf pup', but *vạ́lcite* pl def, *vạ́lčica* 'she-wolf', *vạlčícata* def, *vạ́lčišče* 'large wolf', *vạlčíščeno* def; *pårst* 'finger' sg, *pårsti* pl, *pårste* 'finger' dim, *pårstot* def, *pårstof* def but *pạ́rstite* pl def, *pạ́rstule* 'small finger', and *dvá pạrsta* 'two fingers', *oj̯t ná pạrsti* 'walk on tiptoe'. Thus, in this dialect in strong position (stressed in mono- and bisyllabic words) the allophones may be represented in the following manner:

i	*u*
e	*o*
a	*å*

and in weak position (unstressed and stressed in words with three syllables)

Prespa), *kåšča* 'house', *pråtja* 'rods', *råka,* and in sequences with nasal sonants, *gåmba* 'mouth', *zåmbi, dåmja* (before voiced labial plosives), *gråndi, želåndi* 'acorns' (before voiced non-labials) (Nestram). The secondary $ъ_2$ in initial position also has this reflex, e.g., *såna* (< *snaa* 'sister-in-law), *mångla* 'fog', (Nestram), *bådnik* 'Christmas Eve, *mågla, måska*', *snåa* (Drimkol), *låj̯ca* (< *lažica* 'spoon'), *måska* (German in Lower Prespa). In several instances, in all three dialects, /å/ developed from /a/ next to a nasal consonant, e.g., *måščeja* 'step-mother' (Nestram), *znåj̯t* 'know' 3 sg, *måmit* 'tempt', 3 sg, *måštea, kåntar* 'scale', *ångel* 'angel', *ångon* 'hook', *zåmba* (Lukovo village in Drimkol region).

[18] Stress in these dialects is fixed on the third syllable from the end in words with three or more syllables (morae).

i *u*
e *ą* *o*
a

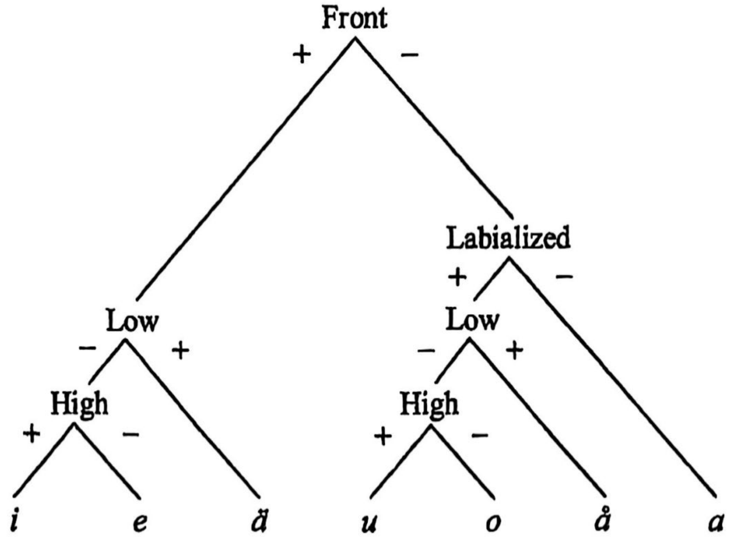
Evidently, the feature of labialization is weakened in weak position.

In comparison with the situation in the Drimkol–Golo Brdo dialect, there is no difference in distribution in relation to consonantal environment.[19]

6. In the Vevčani–Radožda dialect, represented by the villages of Radožda, Vevčani, Mali Vlaj and Lin in the Struga region, there are seven vocalic phonemes (Hendricks 1976: 33–44):

i *u*
e *o*
ä *a* *å*

Here too, labialization, height and place of articulation, are important distinctive features. The correlated pairs may be diagrammed as follows:



The phoneme /ä/ is low (correlated with /e, i/) and front (in relation to /a, å/); the vowel /å/ is low (wide and correlated with /o, u/) and labialized. The vowel /a/ is correlated with its pair /å/ according to the feature of labialization, and with /ä/ as its back correlate.

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[19] Historical /å/ /ą/ are the reflex of *ǫ and *r̥,*l̥ (in the sequences år̥/ąr, ål̥/ąl).

In terms of distribution, there are several restrictions on the phonemes /ä/ and /å/. The first restriction is that they cannot appear in the same word. There is no record of /ä/ following a labial consonant, while /å/ often appears after a labial consonant, rarely after a non-labial. In addition, there is no record of a vowel sequence with /a/.

With respect to its position within the word, /ä/ is restricted—it can not appear in word-final position. The location of stress also limits the distribution of /ä, å/. They are realized only when in the stressed syllable, otherwise they are neutralized with /e/ and /o/, e.g., *zäp – zä́bi – zä́bite – zä́pčińa*, 'tooth', sg, pl, pl def, and collective pl respectively, but *pó zebi* 'in the teeth', *zepčíńata* dem pl, *rǻka* 'hand', *ná roka* 'on a hand', *påt* 'path', *påtot* def, *pǻtišta* pl but *potíštata* pl def, *ná pot* 'on the path'.[20]

There are no restrictions on the distribution of the other vowels, neither according to position within the word, to the consonantal environment, nor to place of stress. They can occur together in groups but with a limitation on /i/ when it appears after another vowel, e.g., *orei̯* (< *orei* < *orevi* 'walnuts'), *jai̯š* (< *jadiš* 'eat' 2 sg pres), *polói̯na* (< *poloina* < *polovina* 'half'), *pazui̯* (< *pazui* < *pazuvi* 'bosom, breast'). In front of another vowel, the vowel /i/ is realized as [i̯] in this dialect, e.g., *fati̯e* (< *fatie* 'catch'), *izmi̯en* (< *izmien* 'washed'), *kopri̯a* (< *kopria* < *kopriva* 'nettle'), *sudi̯a* (< *sudia* 'judge'), *beli̯ot* (< *beliot* 'white' def), *sečí̯o* (< *sečio* < *sečivo* 'blade'), but at a morpheme boundary with a prefix: *néispan* 'sleepy', *póitar* 'more cunning'.

The vowel /e/ is also realized as [i̯] in the sequences *ea* and *eo*, as long as there is no phonetic or morphological impediment, e.g., *li̯a (lea), stri̯a (strea), Pétri̯o* (< *Petreo* < *Petrevo* 'Petre's'), as in the Struga **ǫ* > *ă*-dialect (see above, 2.3.1).

The vowel /o/ in some cases is realized as [u̯] in vowel sequences *oa* and *oe* or changes to *v*, e.g., *ku̯ač* (< *koač* < *kovač* 'blacksmith'), *ču̯äk* (< *čoek* < *čovek* 'man'), or *kvač* and *čvek* (see above, 2.3.1).

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[20] The vowels /ä, å/ are the reflexes of **ǫ*, **l̥*, and **r̥*, e.g., /å/ follows a labial consonant, e.g., *måži* 'men', *måten* 'cloudy, muddy', *påt, vålk, vålnen* 'woolen', *pålno* 'full', *bårgu* 'quickly', *pårsti, fårl'at* 'throw', less often appears after other consonants, *låka* 'meadow', *tråba* 'tube'; and /ä/ after non-labials, *geséjnca* (< *gasenica* 'caterpillar'), *däp* 'oak', *zäbi, jäže* 'rope', *käpina* 'blackberry', *grädi* 'breast', *säbota* 'Saturday', etc. In addition, /ä/ developed as a result of contraction of *ae* and *oe* in such cases as *zädno* (< *zaedno* 'together'), *znät* (< *znaet* 'know') and in place of Turkish ı after non-labial consonants, e.g., *zäbun* 'outer clothing', *käsmet* 'fate, fortune', and /å/ from the secondary $ъ_2$ after labial consonants, *bådnik* 'Christmas eve', *mågla* 'fog', *måska*, and from /a/ following *m*, *mâmit'*, *måšti̯a* (< *maštea*).

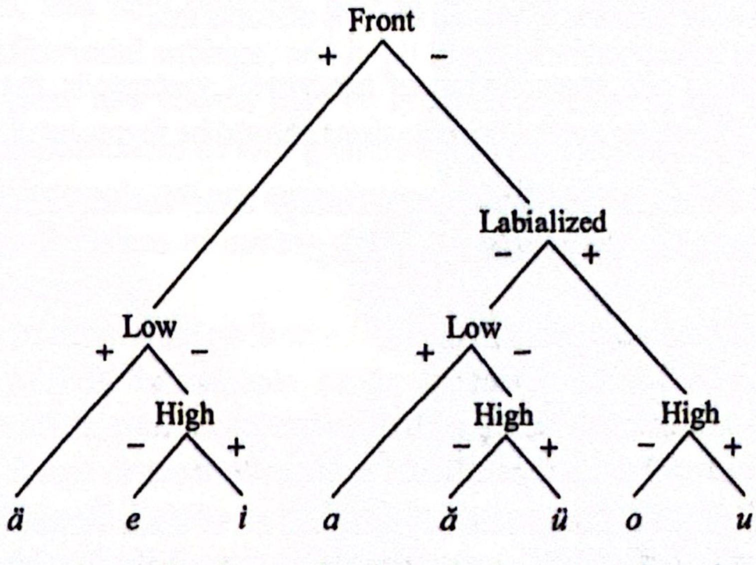
So, in unaccented position, the allophones are the following:

i *u*
e *o*
a

7. In the dialect of the Korča region, represented by villages of Boboščica and Drenovjeni (southern Albania), there is an eight-member, three-degree, three-tiered vowel system:

i *(ü)* *u*
e *(ǎ)* *o*
ä *a*

which, according to the distinctive features of height, place of articulation, and labialization, yields the following correlated pairs:



This system is realized completely only in stressed positions.[21] In unstressed position, the vowel /ä/ is neutralized with /e/, e.g., *rʲä́ka – rekáta* 'river' indef, def, *brʲä́k – brʲä́go* but *bregóvi* 'shore' sg and pl, *čovʲä́ko* but *čóvek* 'man'.[22] This results in a seven-member vocalic system in unstressed position:

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[21] Stress in the Boboštica dialect is fixed on the penultimate syllable.

[22] The phoneme /ä/ developed from *ě or *ę alone or in groups with nasal sonants (*äm* before labial voiced plosives, *än* before non-labial consonants) and in place of /a/

i (ü) u
e (ă) o
a

The number of distinctive features remains the same, but their hierarchy changes.

There are some restrictions with respect to the distribution of vowels within the word. The vowel /ä/ can not occur at the absolute beginning of the word nor at the end. Likewise, the vowels /ü, ă/ appear only in medial position. Otherwise, they are quite rare and appear mostly in foreign (Turkish and Albanian) words and in only a few Slavic lexemes (Mazon 1936).

In relation to the consonant environment, only the phoneme /ä/ is restricted. It always follows palatals, or palatalized consonants. It does not appear in sequences with the vowels /ü/ and /ă/.

In principle, the vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ may stand together in any combination, before or after all consonants and in all positions within the word. Sequences with two geminate vowels are not uncommon.

8. As a result of this examination of the vowel systems in the Macedonian dialects, the following general conclusions should be formulated.

8.1. On the Macedonian linguistic territory, nine vowels function as phonemes, not including the syllabemes *r̥* and *l̥*:

i *ü* *u*

e *ă* *o*

ã *a* *å*

However, no single dialectal microsystem has all of these vowels. The number of vowel phonemes in any given microsystem varies between five and eight.

8.2. According to geographical distribution, these nine vowels may be divided into two groups. The vowels /i/ – /u/, /e/ – /o/, /a/ are found in all dialects of Macedonian. The other four vowels /ü, ă, ã, å/ have a limited geographical

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after palatal consonants in Macedonian words, in all cases only in the stressed syllable, e.g., *vrʲắme* – *vremjắto* 'time, weather' indef, def, *sjắnka* 'shade, shadow', *čovjắko* (vs. *čóvek* 'man'), *ljắto* 'summer, year', *grjắnda* (vs. *grendáta* 'beams'). N.B. **ǫ* > /a/, /am – an/ e.g., *kašča, zambi, grandi*; **r̥* > *ar*, e.g., *bargu* 'quickly', *varba* 'willow', **l̥* > *al*, e.g. *valk, žalto* 'yellow', *palno* 'full'.

distribution. The vowel /ü/ is found in a single dialect—in Boboščica, and even there it is a marginal phoneme. The vowel /å/ occurs in three rather limited areas in southeastern Macedonia (in Suho–Visoka, in several northern Drama villages in the Goce Delčev dialect, and in Razlog) and in two locations in the western linguistic periphery—in Boboščica, and the Vevčani–Radožda dialect (see above, 6, 7). The phoneme /å/ is found in five small geographical regions along the border zone with Albanian—in Reka (Žernovnica), Drimkol–Golo Brdo, the Vevčani–Radožda, Lower Prespa and Nestram–Kostenarija dialects (see above, 4, 5, 6). The phoneme /ă/ is found on a somewhat larger area. It is found along the entire linguistic periphery and in a large part of the central region, and is a marginal phoneme in some central dialects (in urban Skopje, in Blatijata and in the dialect of some southern villages in the Bitola region) (Groen 1977: 9).

8.3. From the perspective of the position within the word and within the morpheme, there are differences in distribution between these two groups. The vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ have no limitations on their occurrence—they appear in initial, medial, and final position, and in all types of morphemes, in roots, affixes and inflectional endings, and in all types of consonantal environments. In principle, these five vowels may be grouped together in any combination, thus numerous sequences of two geminate vowels have developed, and even groups of three vowels are not uncommon. The distribution of these vowels is not limited by the place of stress—they can appear in both stressed and unstressed syllables.

The distribution of the phonemes /ă, ä, å/ is more restricted in a variety of ways. The vowel /å/ for example, rarely appears in word-final position. As a rule, it is found in root morphemes, and in some dialects, only in stressed syllables (in Reka) or most often after labial consonants (Vevčani–Radožda). The vowel /ä/ in all dialects is realized in its basic allophonic shape only in stressed syllables (in Boboščica, Suho–Visoka, and Goce Delčev). The phoneme /ă/ appears in a large area, but only in root morphemes, with the exception of the northern dialects and Serez–Drama dialects, including Goce Delčev.

These three vowels do not appear in the same word in most dialects. They are limited also in their distribution with regard to other vowels. Vowel sequences in which /ă, ä, å/ combine with the other five vowels are extremely rare.

8.4. Because of the limitations on their distribution, the vowels /ă, ä, å/ have few opportunities to enter into phonetic combinations which would allow the development of allophones. Thus, for example, in the northern and Serez–Drama dialects the phoneme /ă/ has just two realizations: [ă] in stressed syllables and [ạ] in unstressed position. Likewise, in Suho–Visoka /ä/ has two allophones: ['ä] under stress and ['ạ] in unstressed syllables. In the other dialects that have this phoneme, /ä/ and /e/ are neutralized in unstressed position.

The number of allophones for the other vowels is significantly greater. The vowel /a/ has the following allophones: fronted after *j* in a few cases in some western dialects (Ohrid, Debar, etc.); with raised articulation in the direction of /ă/ in unstressed syllables in dialects with reduction; and [ạ], likewise in unstressed syllables in dialects with reduction. The vowels /e/ and /o/ have high variants [ẹ, ọ] in unstressed syllables in dialects with reduction, or are realized slightly more open [ɛ, ɔ] in stressed syllables, in the northern dialects (see above, 2.1). In stressed syllables, they can be realized as diphthongal sounds [^{i}e, ^{u}o] in Debar, Nestram, Serez–Lagadina, as well as several dialects in central Macedonia (Koneski 1968: 253). The vowel /i/ most often appears as [i̯] after another vowel in almost all western and southern dialects, as well as a large part of the eastern dialect area, and in the Ohrid–Struga region before a vowel (see above. 2.3.1).

8.5. In most dialects of Macedonian, with the dissyllabification of /i/ in the above mentioned position, a series of diphthongs (diphthongoids) were formed: *ei̯*, *ai̯*, *oi̯*, *ui̯* (see above, 1.2, 2.2), then *i̯a*, *i̯o* (see above, 2.3.1). The vowel /e/, which in some western and southern dialects was dissyllabified to *i̯*, can also form such diphthongs, e.g., *goi̯dar* 'cowherd', *čoi̯k* 'man' (see above, 1.2), *bi̯a* 'were', *stri̯a* 'eaves' (see above, 2.3.1). In the Struga dialect, as well as in the dialect of several western Ohrid and Prespa villages, /o/ was subjected to dissyllabification in the sequences *oo* and *oe*, which developed into single-syllable diphthongal sequences *u̯a*, *u̯o*, and *va*, *ve*, e.g., *tu̯ar/tvar*, *ču̯ek/čvek.* Also of interest are the diphthongs *ô*^{a}, *ê*^{a} in dialects in Pelagonija, which are the realization of the groups *oa* and *ea* (see above, 1.2).

8.6. In most western and southern dialects of Macedonian, long vowels lacking phonological status developed from the contraction of sequences of two geminate vowels in specific morphological positions (see above,1.2). After the loss of *x*, such phonetic length developed as compensation in some eastern dialects e.g., *gre:* 'sin', *me:* 'belly', *viká:me* 'call', *nosé:me* 1 pl aor (in Štip–Strumica and Tikveš–Mariovo dialects), *orá:* 'walnut', *rekó:mo* 'say' 1 pl aor, *rekó:te* ‘say’ 2 pl aor (in northeastern dialects), also as a result of elision of vowels before article morphemes in the dialects with reduction, e.g., *žé:nta* < *ženata* ‘woman’ def, *dé:tto* < *deteto* ‘child’ def (in Lower Vardar and Serez–Lagadina dialects) (Vidoeski 1978).

8.7. Concerning distinctive features, the following may be concluded: first, features of height and place of articulation are present in all the systems we examined, but the feature of place of articulation is redundant in relation to the vowel /a/ in the five-member system (see above, 1); and second, the feature of labialization is included in systems with the phonemes /ă/ and /å/. Third, the vowels /ă, ä, å/, in all systems where they appear, form correlated pairs with the vowel /a/.

The Accentual Systems of the Dialects of Macedonian*

0. On the phonetic level, three main accentual systems are clearly delineated on Macedonian linguistic territory:[1]

- an accentual system with free stress
- an accentual system with restricted free and restricted fixed stress
- an accentual system with fixed stress

1. The accentual system with free stress (the most archaic on Macedonian territory) is prevalent in the eastern dialects of Macedonian along the Kriva Palanka–Kumanovo–Štip–Strumica–Kukuš–Solun line, and east of the linguistic border with Bulgarian linguistic territory (including the dialects of Pirin Macedonia and the Serez–Drama region of southeastern Macedonia).

The western border of this system lies slightly to the west of the Kumanovo–Sveti Nikole–Štip line and continues to the southwest through Demir Kapija to Ostrovo Lake, and encompasses dialects in the Gevegelija and Voden regions and a portion of the dialects in the Meglen region.

Free stress is understood here as stress that can be placed on any syllable of the word e.g.,

a) on the final syllable:

  aa) *dobriná* 'goodness', *žená* 'woman', *esentá* 'autumn' def, *mažištá* 'man' aug pl, *igrané* 'playing, dancing', *rebrá* 'ribs', *viká* 'call' 3 sg pres, *rečé* 'say' 3 sg aor (on open ultima)

  ab) *govedár* 'cowherd', *oráč* 'plowman', *boréc* 'fighter', *visók* 'high', (on closed ultima)

b) on the penultimate syllable: *kámen* 'stone', *kófček* 'case', *stóža*r 'pivot', *jávor* 'maple', *lisíca* 'fox', *koléno* 'knee'

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[1] Cf. Map 10 following p. 144.

c) on the antepenultimate syllable: *kámenot* 'stone' def, *jázovec* 'badger', *kládenec* 'well, spring', *tégavec* 'plaintain', *jágoda* 'strawberry', *pónada* 'gift of food for sick person', *pěštera* 'cave', *kášlica* 'cough', *várivo* 'vegtable', *ézero* 'lake'

d) on the fourth or fifth syllable from the end: *bívolica* 'water buffalo cow', *jálovica* 'heifer', *krástavica* 'cucumber', *vérverica* 'squirrel', *Pétkovica* 'Petko's wife', *bívolicite* pl def.

On the morphological level, this system is further divided into two stress types: a) mobile stress, and b) morphologically fixed stress.

1.1. The mobile stress type (the place of stress can shift to a different syllable within the paradigm) is found in the far eastern dialects of Macedonian east of the Kriva Palanka–Kratovo–Kočani–Radoviš–Strumica–Kukuš–Lagadina line. Several models of mobile stress can be found in this area.

1.1.1. In the northern part of this region, in villages in the eastern Kriva Palanka area, in the Maleševo and Pijanec dialects (Berovo, Pehčevo, Delčevo), in the dialects of the Pirin region in the direction Blagoevgrad–Petrič and in the Razlog dialect, one finds the following accentual models:

For masc substantives

a) *glás* 'voice' – *glásove* pl vs. *glasó* def vs. *glasovéto* pl def,
záp 'tooth' – *zábi* pl vs. *zabó* def vs. *zabíte* pl def

b) *kón* 'horse' – *kóne* def – *kóńe* pl vs. *końéto* pl def,
stárec 'old man' – *stáreco* def – *stárci* pl vs. *starcíte* pl def,
konéc 'string' – *konéco* def – *kónci* pl vs. *koncíte* pl def,
kotél 'cauldron' – *kotélo* def – *kótli* pl vs. *kotlíte* pl def

c) *kúm* 'godfather' – *kúmove* pl – *kúmoveto* def vs. *kumó* sg def,
drén 'cornell cherry' – *dréńe* pl – *dréńeto* def vs. *drenó* sg def

d) *kováč* 'blacksmith' – *kováče* vs. *kovačé* – *kovačéto,*
dr̥vár 'woodcutter' – *dr̥váre* vs. *dr̥varé* – *dr̥varéto,*
elén 'deer' – *eléno* vs. *eleńé* – *eleńéto,*
razbój 'loom' – *razbóe* vs. *razboé* – *razboéto*

e) *mr̥tovéc* 'corpse' – *mr̥tovéco* vs. *mr̥tovcí* – *mr̥tovcíte*

Note that accentual model (d) occurs only in those dialects where the article morpheme for masc substantives is *-e* (in the Berovo–Pexčevo, Goce Delčev, Blagoevgrad and Razlog dialects) while in Petrič, where the article is *-o* after historically soft consonants, there is the following paradigmatic accent: *ofčár* 'shepherd' – *ofčáro* vs. *ofčári* – *ofčáreto*; *oráč* 'plowman' – *oráčo* vs. *oráče* – *oráčeto*.

For fem substantives:

a) *žená* 'woman' – *ženáta* sg def – *ženíte* pl def vs. *žéni* pl indef

b) *bráda* 'beard' – *brádi* pl indef vs. *bradáta* sg def vs. *bradíte* pl def

Note: for villages in the eastern Kriva Palanka region (Uzem, Dobrovnica, Trnovo), type (a) substantives have paradigmatic accent, e.g., *žená* – *ženáta* sg def vs. *žení* pl indef vs. *ženíte* pl def. In villages to the west (Gaber, Gradec, Konopnica) accent is mobile, e.g., *žená* – *ženáta* sg def vs. *žéni* pl indef – *žénite* pl def, *kozá* 'goat' – *kozátu* sg def vs. *kóze* pl indef – *kózete* pl def (Luke, Ogut) as in Krklja, e.g., *kozá* – *kozáta* sg def – *kozíte* pl def vs. *kózi* pl indef.

c) *nóš* 'night' – *nóšči* vs. *noščá* def sg – *noščíte*,
kŕ̥f 'blood' – *kr̥ftá* sg def

For neut substantives:

a) *méso* 'meat' – *mésa* pl indef vs. *mesóto* sg def – *mesáta* pl def (*víno* 'wine', *mléko* 'milk', *léto* 'summer, year),
sŕ̥ce 'heart' – *sŕ̥ca* pl indef vs. *sr̥céto* sg def – *sr̥cáta* pl def,
óko éye' – *óči* pl indef vs. *okóto* sg def – *óčite* pl def

b) *rebró* 'rib' – *rebróto* sg def vs. *rébra* pl indef, *rébrata* pl def,
jajcé 'egg' – *jajcéto* sg def vs. *jájca* pl indef – *jájcata* pl def

c) *crevó* 'intestine' – *crevóto* sg def – *creváta* pl def vs. *créva* pl indef,
deté 'child' – *detéto* sg def – *decáta* pl def vs. *déca* pl indef (in Berovo, Pehčevo, Petrič, Blagoevgrad)

Note: in Uzem, Trnovo, and Gabar *deté* 'child' – *detéto* sg def – *decá* pl indef – *decáta* pl def.

1.1.2. In the southern part of the dialectal region with mobile accent (in Serez, Drama, Goce Delčev, Suho–Visoka, and in some parts of Razlog as a transitional type) there is an accentual model of a somewhat different type.

For masc substantives:

a) *glás* – *glásove* pl indef vs. *glasắ* sg def vs. *glásovéto* pl def (Goce Delčev),
ret 'row' – *rédove* pl indef vs. *redó* sg def vs. *rédovéto* pl def (Serez),
grát 'town' – *grádove* pl indef vs. *gradắ* sg def vs. *grádovéto* pl def (Ziljaxovo),
grát 'town' – *gráduvi* pl indef vs. *gradót* sg def vs. *gráduvétu* pl def (Visoka),
grát 'town' – *gráduvi* pl indef vs. *gradó* sg def vs. *grádovéto* pl def (Suho), (also in Berovo, Pehčevo, Petrič, Blagoevgrad)

b) *bík* 'bull' vs. *bikó* sg def – *bicé* pl indef – *bicétu* pl def (Suho),
dắmp 'oak' vs. *dắmbót* sg def – *dămbé* pl indef – *dămbétu* pl def (Visoka)

c) *snóp* 'bundle' – *snópi* pl indef – *snópitu* pl def vs. *snupó* sg def (Suho)

d) *pintél* 'roaster' – *pintélu* // *-ut* sg def vs. *pintlí* pl indef (Visoka) – *pintélitu* pl def (Suho),
kunéc 'thread' – *kunécu* // *-ut* sg def vs. *kunc'á*

For fem substantives:

a) *bráda* – *brádi* vs. *bradắta* sg def – *bradíte* pl def,
žéna – *žéni* pl indef vs. *ženắta* sg def – *ženíte* pl def, (in Goce Delčev, Drama, Serez, Suho, Visoka)

b) *vlás* 'hair' vs. *vlastá* sg def

and for neut substantives:

a) *čéndu* 'child' – *čéndutu* sg def vs. *čindá* pl indef – *čindáta* pl def,
sélu 'village' – *sélutu* sg def vs. *silá* pl indef – *siláta* pl def,
kupítu 'hoof' – *kupítutu* sg def vs. *kupitá* pl indef – *kupitáta* pl def,
líci 'face' – *lícitu* sg def vs. *licá* pl indef – *licáta* pl def,
grózdi 'bunch of grapes' – *grózditu* vs. *gruzd'á* pl indef – *gruzd'áta* pl def (Suho–Visoka, Goce Delčev, Drama, Serez)

b) *krílu* 'wing' vs. *krilótu* sg def vs. *krilá* pl indef vs. *kriláta* pl def,
péru 'feather' vs. *pirótu* sg def vs. *pirá* pl indef – *piráta* pl def,
móri 'sea' vs. *murétu* sg def vs. *mur'ắnta* pl indef,
póli 'field' vs. *pul'étu* sg def vs. *pul'ánta* pl indef – *pul'ántata* pl def,
strắci 'heart' vs. *străcétu* sg def vs. *străcáta* pl def,
trắni 'thorns' coll vs. *trănétu* (Suho–Visoka, Goce Delčev, Drama, Serez)

c) *pismó* 'letter' – *pismótu* sg def vs. *pismáta* pl def (Visoka),
sidló 'saddle' – *sidlótu* vs. *sidlá* pl indef – *sidláta* pl def (Suho),
luz'é 'vineyard' – *luz'étu* sg def vs. *luz'á* pl indef (Suho) / *luz'ánta* (Visoka),
óku sg indef 'eye' – *óč'ạ* pl indef vs. *ukótu* sg def – *uč'ít'ạ* pl def,
úxu sg indef, 'ear' – *úši* pl indef vs. *uxótu* sg def – *uš'ít'ạ* pl def (Suho–Visoka, Drama, Serez),
ím'ạ 'name' sg indef – *ímeto* sg def vs. *imenáta* pl def (Goce Delčev)

Note the following differences in the Maleševo–Pirin dialects in the southern zone: 1) substantives of the type *žená – žéni* have the same stress as the *bráda – brádi* type; 2) masc substantives of the type *dr̥vár – dr̥váre* vs. *dr̥varé* here are paradigmatic (there is no article -*e*); 3) for neut substantives, there is no accentual type *rebró – rebróto* vs. *rébra – rébrata* (*jajcé – jajcéto* vs. *jájcata*), nor the type *crevó – crevóto – crevática* vs. *créva*, *deté – detéto – decáta* vs. *déca*.

Important characteristics which differentiate the southern dialects from this accentual type are restrictions on stress and the appearance of a secondary stress under the following conditions: if there are three syllables after a primary stress, then a secondary stress appears on the penultimate syllable, thus the accentual unit is divided into two rhythmical units, e.g., *rént* 'row' – *rénduvi* vs. *rénduvètu*; *gál – gálut – gáluvi* vs. *gáluvètu* (Suho–Visoka).

1.2. The accentual type with morphologically fixed, paradigmatic stress is found in the dialects along the Kumanovo–Štip–Radoviš–Strumica–Kukuš–Solun line, west of the above mentioned line (Kriva Palanka–Kratovo–Kočani–Strumica–Lagadina).

In these dialects stress cannot fall on the final open syllable in paradigmatic words, with the exception of Turkish loans and in the 2–3 sg aor. This means that in all cases where stress is on the open ultima in the extreme eastern dialects, here it is retracted to the preceding syllable (penultima). Most probably, the retraction was morphologically motivated. As a consequence, the mobile accent type is eliminated.

Therefore, fem substantives of the type *žená – ženáta* vs. *žéni* and *bráda – bradáta* vs. *brádi* have merged with substantives of the old paradigmatic model of the *bába* 'grandmother' – *bábi* pl indef – *bábo* voc – *bábata* sg def – *bábite* pl def type. Neut substantives of all models with mobile stress merged with substantives of the old model with fixed stress, e.g., *dr̥vó* 'tree, wood' – *dr̥vóto* sg def > *dŕ̥vo – dŕ̥voto*, *deté* 'child' – *detéto* sg def > *déte – déteto*, etc.

This means that the changes that arose in this region are of two main types: a) retraction of the stress from the open ultima (with some exceptions), and b) elimination of the mobile accentual type for all word classes, including the verb. These changes affected only grammatical endings, while the structure of the suffix and prefix formations remain unaffected on the accentual level, except in cases where stress from the inflected ending was retracted to the suffix in derivational models of the type *dobriná* 'goodness' – *dobrináta* sg def > *dobrína – dobrínata*, *slepotá* 'blindness' *slepóta – slepótata.* The process of stress retraction was accomplished in stages. The Kukuš and Dojran dialects provide evidence that stress first was retracted from the open ultima for bisyllabic fem and neut substantives, while it is still found on the final open syllable for polysyllabic words, e.g., *visọčiná* 'height', *dălžiná* 'length', *rạmniná* 'plains' in Dojran, *visučiná*, *dlăbučiná* 'depth', *gurẹštiná* 'heat', *slubudá* 'freedom', *griutá* 'shame, sin', *srămutá* 'shame' in Mutulovo in the Kukuš region.

On the other hand, on a wide area in the Lower Vardar dialects there is also a tendency for stress to be limited to the final three syllables. This process first affected substantives stressed on the fourth syllable. This was resolved in two ways: a) with the appearance of a secondary stress on the penultimate, e.g., *vérvẹrìca*, *járạbìca* 'pillow', *krástạvìca – krástạvìcata* (Dojran), *bívulìca*, *gúšuvìca*, *kíxuvìca* 'sneezing fit', *léstuvìca* 'swallow', *kátạrìca* 'squirel', *máturìca* 'pregnant pig' fem, *mándạrìna* 'mandarin', (Gramadna, Kukuš region); b) with the simple retraction of the stress to the penultima, e.g., *jạluvíca*, *virviríca*, *piivíca* 'leech', *guštạríca* 'small lizard', *kukuvíca* (Ilidžievo, Enidže Vardar region). In trisyllabic words, initial stress is more stable, even if the process here also began with such words, e.g., *vắdica*, *vílica* 'jaw', *kášlica*, *pódnica*, *kóšnica* 'basket', *pérnica* 'pillow', *kóčina* 'pigsty', *óftika* 'tuberculosis', *sắbuta* 'Saturday', but also *jạbắlka* 'apple', *punúda* 'offer' (Enidže), *jabúka*, *mạḱéa* 'step-mother' (Miravci, Gevgelija region).

For these dialects, there is one other important fact which contributed to the preservation of stress on the third syllable from the end of the word. As a result of vowel reduction, which is especially prevalent in the southern dialects, especially in the Lower Vardar and Serez–Drama groups, unstressed vowels in certain syllables—especially before the definite article—were elided, e.g., *lébǫvi* 'loaves of bread' pl indef – *lébǫvite* pl def > *lébǫvte*, *kóčina*, *kóčinąta* > *kóčinta*, *sírine* 'cheese' – *sírineto* sg def > *sírne* – *sírnito*, and for verbs *ímame* 'have' 1 pl pres > *ímme*, *víkate* 'call' 2 pl pres > *víkte*; and for adjectives with masc article forms *i* changed to *j* or was lost completely, e.g., *jak* 'strong' – *jákiut (jakiot)* sg def > *jákjut* or *jákut*, *visók* 'high' – *visókiut* sg def > *visókjut*, *visókata* fem sg def > *visókta*, *visókite* pl def > *visókte*, etc.

In the Kumanovo–Kratovo and Štip–Strumica regions, these phenomena are less evident or are completely unknown, so the place of stress for words of this type is relatively stable.

2. The accentual system with restricted free and restricted fixed stress is found on a narrow band along the line Skopska Crna Gora–(Raštak–Bulačani)–Klepa (Veles region)–Kavadarci–Mariovo–Lerin–Kostur–Nestram, i.e., along the border zone between the eastern speech area (with free stress) and the western (with fixed stress). In the north, this system is also found along the border with the Serbian dialects in Sirinić Župa and in the Prizren region. The western border of this system approximately follows the Raštak–Creševo–Aračinovo–Divle (in the Skopje region)–Lugunci–Crkvino–Vladilovci–Klepa Veles region)–Nikodin–Trojaci (Tikveš region) line, whence it continues along Mt. Selečka to the village of Brod on the Crna river (east of Bitola). From Brod it continues to the southwest, passing slightly north of Lerin and through the villages of Armensko–Breznica–Vambel and the village of Vrbnik (Vrmnik) on the Albanian side, whence it turns to the southwest and continues approximately along the present state border between Albania and Greece to Gramos.

This system is dominant in two larger dialectal zones: Tikveš–Mariovo and Lerin–Kostur; but as we move to the north of the Klepa region (Veles), the area enclosed by this system progressively narrows.

In the above mentioned area, stress cannot be placed on the ultima (regardless of whether it is open or closed—foreign borrowings are not included), likewise stress on the fourth syllable from the end is avoided. This means that stress in these dialects, as a rule, is concentrated on the penultimate or the antepenultimate syllable with a tendency to stabilize on the penultimate.

In this area, two accentual types co-exist: a) phonetically fixed accent and b) paradigmatic accent.

Material from different local dialects within this system demonstrates how the fixed accent developed. In the dialect of the village of Prevod (Sveti Nikole region), for substantives with two syllables, stress on the final (closed) syllable, as a rule, was retracted, e.g., *óbras* 'face, cheek', *ézik* 'language, tongue', *čóvek*, *sírak* 'orphan', *kóńar* 'horse-keeper', *mlékar* 'milkman', *órač* 'plough', regularly for disyllabic words, and for a limited number of three-syllable substantives, e.g., *bratúčet* 'cousin', *domáḱin* 'host', *rabótnik* 'worker'. With most three-syllable substantives, however, stress was maintained on the ultima, e.g., *edińák* 'only son', *vereník* 'fiance', *godińák* 'yearling', *drenovák* 'cornell cherry' etc, and compounds of the type *sančoglét* 'sunflower', *sredorék* 'type of plant', several adjectives e.g., *bolnikáf* 'sickly', *kašličáf* 'someone prone to coughing', *kameníl* 'rocky', *krilát* 'with wings', *beličés* 'whitish', and the compounds *gluvoném* 'deaf-mute', *tvrdogláf* 'stubborn', *crnoók* 'dark-eyed', etc.

There was no change for substantives with the old stress on the third syllable, the old place of stress is still well preserved, e.g., fem: *bánica* 'savory pastry', *jádica*, *gránica* 'border', *rúčnica* 'towel for hands', *sténica* 'bed bug', *mática* 'queen bee, stream'; neut: *várivo*, *ólovo* 'lead', *óstr̥vo* *í*sland', *ézero* 'lake', *síreńe*; masc: *jázovec* 'badger', *žílavec* 'type of plant', *kómarec* 'mosquito', *tégavec* 'plaintain'.

However, for substantives with the old accent on the fourth syllable, on the article forms on the fifth syllable, in most cases, the stress changed to the penultima, e.g., *jalovíca*, *kijavíca* 'sneeze', *krastavíca*, *kukavíca*, *padavíca* 'epilepsy', *surovíca*, *ververica*, *pijavíca* 'leech', *erebíca*, *pr̥pelíca* 'quail', *lastovíca* 'swallow', *mesečína* 'moon, moonlight'.

In the dialect of the villages Bulačani and Raštak in Skopska Crna Gora, the number of exceptions from the second syllable stress pattern is minimal, e.g., *vístina* 'truth', *pázuva* 'bosom, breast', *óftika*, *záloška* 'mumps', *podnóktica* 'frostbite of the fingers', *zadúšica* 'All Soul's Day' etc., but *vilíca* 'pitchfork', *bradavíca* 'wart', *políca*, *krastavíca*, *peléna* 'swaddling clothes', *subóta*, *olóvo*, *varívo*, *ezéro*.

There are no examples of stress falling on the ultima in our extensive corpus of material.

So, in the dialect of Bulačani, stress falls on the second syllable from the end for all nouns (with only a few exceptions), not including article forms.

For reasons that are unclear, article morphemes are not subject to the rule of penultimate accentuation. Perhaps because of its specific function, the article was not completely integrated grammatically into the word, as were inflectional morphemes and derivational elements.

We must also examine the stages of the process of the retraction of stress from closed final syllables. Here too, we have abundant material from these two dialects (the village of Prevod in the Sveti Nikole region, which is located in the close proximity to the area of the free paradigmatic accentual system and the village of Bulačani, on the border with the Skopje dialect, which has stress fixed on the antepenultimate syllable).

In the dialect of Prevod, stress has shifted from the closed ultima to the penultima for sg forms, but has remained on the penultimate syllable for pl forms i.e., in its old place, e.g.,

ribár 'fisherman' – *ribári* > *ríbar* – *ribári*,
kováč 'blacksmith' – *kováči* > *kóvač* – *kováči*,
elén 'deer' – *eléni* > *élen* – *eléni*,
razbój 'loom' – *dva razbója* 'two looms' counted pl – *razbói* pl > *rázboj* -- *razbója*,
ezík 'language, tongue' – *ezíci* > *ézik* – *ezíci* – *dva ezíka* counted pl,
domaḱín 'host' – *domaḱíni* – *domaḱíne* voc > *domáḱin* – *domaḱíni*

and with articles:

ribár – *ribárat* sg def – *ribári* pl indef – *ribárite* pl def > *ríbar* – *ríbarot* vs. *ribári* – *ribárite*

but, the old baritone accent was maintained in its original place:

sín 'son' – *dva sína* 'two sons' counted pl – *sínovi* pl indef vs. *sínat* sg def – *sínovite* pl def,
déver 'father-in-law', *déveri* pl indef vs. *déverat* sg def – *déverite* pl def,
kámeń 'stone' – *kámeńe* pl indef vs. *kámenaot* sg def – *kámeńeto* pl def,
číčo úncle' – *číčofci* pl indef vs. *číčoto* sg def – *číčofcite* pl def,
bívol 'water buffalo' – *bívoli* pl indef vs. *bívolat* sg def – *bívolite* pl def

Thus in the dialect of this village, two accentual models were formed for masc substantives ending on a consonant:

a) with morphologically stabilized stress, e.g., *sín – sínovi*; *bívol – bívoli*

b) with phonetically fixed stress on the penultimate (for indef forms), e.g., *óbras* vs. *obrázi*; *pázar* vs. *pazári*

The same rules apply to adjectival stress, e.g.,

a) *úbaf* 'beautiful' masc – *úbava* fem – *úbavo* neut – *úbavi* pl, *tátkof* 'father's' masc – *tátkova* fem – *tátkovi* pl, *bábin* 'grandmother's' masc – *bábina* fem – *bábino* neut – *bábini* pl

b) *golém* 'large' masc – *goléma* fem – *golémi* pl > *gólem* vs. *goléma – golémi,*
visók 'high' masc – *visóka* fem – *visóki* > *vísok* vs. *visóka – visóki*

In the dialect of Bulačani and other villages in Skopska Crna Gora, by analogy, stress also has retracted to the penultima in old baritone substantives ending in a consonant, thereby forming a single accentual model with fixed stress on the penultima, e.g.,

sín – (dva sína – sínovi >) vs. *sinóvi,*
déver – (déveri >) vs. *devéri,*
kámeń – (kámeńe >) vs. *kaméńe,*
pŕ̥steń 'ring' *(pŕ̥steńi >)* vs. *pr̥stéńi,*
jávor – (jávori >) vs. *javóri,*
zét 'son-in-law' – *(zétovci >)* vs. *zetóvci*

and for adjectives, e.g.,

vúnen 'woolen' – (*vúnena* fem >) vs. *vunéna – vunéni,*
zájčin 'rabbit' – (*zájčino* neut >) vs. *zajčíno,*
gúskin 'goose' – (*gúskini* pl >) vs. *guskíni,*
lákom 'greedy' – (*lákoma* fem >) vs. *lakóma*

as in:

jézik (< jezík) vs. *jezíci,*
domáḱin (< domaḱín) vs. *domaḱíni,*
govédar (< govedár) vs. *govedári,*
vísok (< visók) vs. *visóka – visóki,* etc.

As a result of all these changes, a new accentual system formed in the dialect of Bulačani in which, phonetically, the stress falls on the second and on the third syllable from the end (taking into consideration article forms for nominal declension and some verb forms—pres, impf, imv—in conjugation) with a small number of exceptions.

Morphologically, two accentual models were formed:

a) with morphologically fixed stress (for some words): *glédam* 1 sg, – *glédaš* 2 sg – *glėda* 3 sg – *glédame* 1 pl – *glédate* 2 pl – *glédat* 3 pl (all pres), *glédav* 1 sg – *glédaše* 2–3 sg – *glédavmo* 1 pl – *glédavte* 2 pl (all impf), *glédaj* 2 sg – *glédajte* 2 pl (both imv)

b) with fixed stress on the penultima and/or on the antepenultima, e.g.,
ríbar – *ribári* // *ríbarot*/*-ov*/*-on* – *ribárite*/*-ve* (sg pl both indef, sg def, pl def),
stól 'chair' – *stolóvi* // *stolóvite* (sg indef, pl indef and def),
píle 'chick' – *pilíńa* // *píleto* – *pilíńata* (sg pl indef, sg pl def),
zélen 'green' – *zeléni* pl – *zeléna* fem, all indef // *zéleniot* masc – *zelénata* fem, both def,
víkal 'call' *l*-part masc – *vikála* fem – *vikále* pl,
dójden 'come' *l*-part masc – *dojdéna* fem – *dojdéni* pl, all indef // *dojdénite* pl def
izédov 'eat' 1 sg – *izéde* 3 sg – *izedóvmo* 1 pl – *izedóvte* 2 pl, all aor

In the dialect of Sirinić Župa on Serbian linguistic territory, also in the Prizren dialect (Remetić 1996), stress fixed exclusively on the penultima developed owing to the lack of post-posed articles, e.g.,

sín nom sg – *sína* gen sg – *sínu* dat sg – *dva sína* gen sg – *sinóvi* – *sinóve* nom pl – *sinóvam* dat pl,
gólub 'dove' nom sg – *golúba* gen sg – *golúbi* nom pl – *săs golúbe* 'with doves' – *golúbam* dat pl,
gólem nom sg – *golemóga* gen sg – *golémi* nom pl,
ńégov 'his' – *ńegovóga* – *ńegovómu* – *ńegóvi*
ímaš 'have' 2 sg pres – *imámo* 1 pl pres – *imáte* 2 pl pres – *ímav* 1 sg impf,
kupúje 'buy' 3 sg pres – *kupujémo* 1 pl pres,
kupovája pres act part – *kupovála* *l*-part fem, etc.

The southeastern dialects of Macedonian along the Voden–Kajlar–Kostur line provide even more material in relation to the development of this accentual system.

The shift of stress from the closed ultima may be followed in the Voden speech area, especially in the Meglen region. In the village Sabotsko in the central Meglen region, where stress is free and paradigmatic, we find several examples of bisyllabic words stressed on the penultima, e.g.,

bódiš ‘stitch’ sg vs. *budéži* pl,
mózuk ‘brain’ sg vs. *muzóci* pl,
gắrtl’an ‘throat’ sg vs. *gărtl’áni* pl.

In western Meglen villages along the Požarsko–Tresino–Saraḱinovo line, the number of examples with retracted stress is significantly greater and the model with stress stabilized on the penultima has already formed, e.g.,

brék ‘shore’ – *brigóvi* pl indef (*brigóvte* pl def),
zálạk ‘morsel’ – *zạláci* pl indef (*zạlácte* pl def),
óblak ‘cloud’ – *ubláci* pl indef (*ublácte* pl def),
pájạk ‘spider’ – *pạjáʒi* pl indef (*pạjáʒte* pl def),
rúčuk ‘lunch’ – *ručóci* pl indef (*ručócte* pl def),
práznik ‘holiday’ – *prazníci* pl indef (*prazníctе* pl def),
jásin ‘ash’ – *jạséjne,*
élin – iléjne
póvuj ‘swaddling clothes’ – *puvói (puvój),*
tátko ‘father’ – *tạkófci* pl indef,

but also: *kužúx* ‘sheepskin coat’, *pirdúx* ‘feather’, *uréx* ‘walnut’, *dălbók* ‘deep’, *ičimén* ‘barley’, *bugát* ‘rich’, *visók* ‘high’ etc.

In the Kajlar dialect, it is even clearer how this model formed. Masc substantives with two syllables in indef form have fully developed stress stabilized on the penultima, e.g.,

ófčạr – ufčári ‘shepherd’,
tóvạr ‘load’ – *tuvári,*
óblạk – ubláci ‘cloud’,
sírạk – siráci ‘orphan’,
mózuk – muzóci ‘brain’,
sfékur ‘mother-in-law’ – *svikóri,*
bívul – bivóli ‘water buffalo’,
óref – uréi (uréj) ‘walnut’

regularly for single syllable words, e.g.,

brék – brigói (brigój) ‘shore’,
vól – vulói ‘ox’,
sín – sinói ‘son’

and for verbs in the past def tenses *réku – rekóme – rekóte* ‘say’, in the aor *l*-forms *víknąl – viknála* ‘call’, *sóbrąl – subrála* ‘collect’ (but *vikál – vikála, nusél*).

Polysyllabic substantives ending on a consonant, with few exceptions, have maintained stress on the ultima, e.g., *vudinčár* ‘miller’ – *vudinčári, vuluvár* ‘oxherd’, *mąsliník* ‘a pie made from fat’, *kulužék* ‘August’, *listupát* ‘October’, and some personal names of the type *Vąsíl'*, *Stuján*, *Andón*, and the adjectives *gulém*, *bugát*, *dibél* ‘fat’, *likuvít* ‘cunning’, *visók*, *zilén*, *lăžlíf* ‘dishonest’, etc.

In the Lerin dialect, the number of examples with stress stabilized on the penultima has spread also to disyllabic adjectives. The following are examples from the village of Zelenič, located northwest of Kajlar in the direction of Kostur:

ézik – ezíci,
búbrek ‘kidney’ – *bubréci*

and adjectives,

gólem – golémi,
débel – debéli,
lákom – lakómi

but also *levičár* ‘left-handed’, *kačamák* ‘polenta’, *argován* ‘lilac’, *vărbalắk* ‘a place with willows’, *kupováč* ‘merchant’, *vodopát* ‘waterfall’, *vodovrík* ‘source’, *bolničáf* ‘sickly’, *zborlíf* ‘talkative’, *rabotlíf* industrious’, *sipaničár* ‘person with measles’.

In this dialect, with a few exceptions, stress was retracted to the penultima for substantives with the old stress on the third or fourth syllable, e.g., fem: *bărdavíca* ‘wart’, *plúskavíca* ‘blister’, *sipaníca* ‘measles’, *kašlíca*, *istína*, *pazúva* ‘bosom’, *ververica*, *pijavíca*, *văndica*, *kukuvíca*, *krastavica*, *burína* ‘pine wood’, *pravína* ‘justice’, *peštéra* ‘cave’; masc: *bălgárin* ‘Bulgarian’, *manástir* ‘monastery’, *kladénec*; neut: *ezéro*, *jabắlko* ‘apple’, *varívo*, *pečívo* ‘pastry’, but also *óftika*, *mắštea*, *úžina* ‘dinner’, *ólovo*.

In villages in the southern Kostur region in the area of Kostenarija and in the Nestram region, the number of examples with oxytonic accent is considerable. Such examples are found mostly in trisyllabic masc substantives ending on a consonant, e.g., *(-ar) volovár* 'oxherd', *govedár, lopatár* 'digger', *uliščár* 'beekeeper', toponymic terms for inhabitants of the type *žužolčár* 'person from Žožole', *nestramár* 'person from Nestram', *(-ač) kupováč, pokriváč* 'cover', *(-nik) gerčmaník* 'person from Gerčman', then *edinák, biberók, mačorók* 'tomcat', and for adjectives and even some two syllable words, e.g., *zelenkáf* 'greenish', *kašličáf* 'prone to coughing', *kamenlíf* 'rocky', *varovít* 'made from lime', *zborovít* 'mouthed', or *krastáf* 'scabby', *glibáf* 'muddy' *(-af), zborlíf, lenlíf, (-if, -lif), visók, dibél, bogát* (Nestram, Ezerec, Slimnica).

There are also examples of Turkish loans, e.g., *basamák* 'step', *baǯanák* 'brother-in-law', *izmiǩár* 'servant', *demék* 'it means, that is to say', *milét* 'people, folk', *katrán* 'tar, opium', *surgún* 'distance', with the suffix *-lăk*, e.g., *pijalắk* 'drink', *bafčalắk* 'garden', and even on an open ultima, *bil'á* 'trouble', *kasabá* 'provincial town', *dušemé* 'floor', *ǯadé* 'road', (Nestram).

The Kostur–Lerin accentual type had completely formed by the sixteenth century. In a dictionary of the Kostur dialect (Bogotsko village), published by Giannelli and Vaillant (1958), we find such examples as: *rázboj, élen, žéna* (retracted from the ultima), *kladénec, sjačívo* 'blade', *matoríca* 'pregnant pig', *siréni* (shifted from the antepenultima) 'cheese', *zátvori vrátata* 'close the door' imv, *óstavi* 'leave' (on the prefix as in the west), *grében – grebéni* 'ridge' sg pl, *rákav – rakávi* 'sleeve' sg pl, *kúm – kumóvi* 'godfather' sg pl, *záčul – začúle* 'overhear' *l*-part masc sg and pl (fixed on the second syllable), but also *bratučéd* (maintained on the ultima).

2.1. In a relatively narrow band on the border between the western dialect area (with fixed stress on the antepenultimate syllable) an the Lerin–Kostur dialect, we find two more types of innovations, which can be explained as a result of inter-dialect contact.

In the dialect of the village of Opsirina and several villages in the southern Bitola region, stress is strictly limited to the second and third syllable, including article morphemes. Bisyllabic words in the pl and with articles have fixed stress on the penultima, e.g.,

mésec – meséci,
sírak – siráci,
bráčet – bračédi (all sg and pl, indef)

and with articles, e.g.,

témjan 'incense' – *temjáno,*
zóra – *zoráta,*
kózi – *kozíte,*
déca – *decáta,*
trójca – *trojcáta* 'three people' (all indef – def),
íma 'have' 3 sg pres – *imáše* 3 sg impf,
nósen 'carry' pass part masc sg – *noséno* neut sg.

For words with old stress on the third or fourth syllable in the basic form, a secondary accent developed on the penultima, so that in this region such words were divided into two rhythm units, e.g.,

bórina 'pine's' – *bórinàta,*
máščea – *máščeàta,*
mášina – *mášinàta,*
pádina 'incline' – *pádinàta,*
kópile 'bastard' – *kópilèto* – *kópilìńa* – *kópilińàta* (sg indef and def, pl indef and def),
mésečina – *mésečinàta* (all sg indef – sg def)

Examples of the type *búdala* 'fool' – *búdalàta (< budalá), névesta* 'bride' – *névestàta (< nevésta), vódenica* 'watermill' – *vódenicàta (< vodeníca)* demonstrate how the stress was first retracted to the initial syllable and only later did a secondary stress appear *(nevésta – nevéstata > névesta – nevéstata > névestàta)*. There are other examples from this village: *prijátel'* 'friend' – *prijatéli* pl indef – *prijátelìte* pl def, *nájgolemìo* 'largest' sg def, *s-íspobòli* 'get ill', *zánesòa* 'get carried away', and in the syntagmatic units *né-dojdòa* 'not come' 3 pl aor, *né-možèše* 'can not' 3 sg impf, *ná-braǩà-mu* 'to his brothers', *vó-rakàta* 'in the hand'.

2.2. In the dialect of the village of Nivica, on the southern shore of Lake Prespa and on the very border with the upper Prespa dialect, where stress is fixed on the antepenultimate syllable, all words are stressed on the initial syllable. Words with three or more syllables, however, regularly have a secondary stress on the penultima in addition to initial stress. The stress on the penultima is stronger and the vowel is lengthened, e.g.,

pŕ̥s 'finger' – *pŕ̥sti* sg pl indef vs. *pr̥̀stíte* pl def,
déver – *déviè:ri* pl indef – *dèverí:te* pl def,
gòdí:na 'year' sg indef – *gòdiná:ta* sg def,
jàrămbí:ca, sg indef – *jàrămbicá:ta* sg def,
nàrakví:ca 'glove' sg indef – *nàrakvicá:ta* sg def,
kràstá:jca 'cucumber' sg indef – *kràstajcá:ta* sg def,
tènǯé:re 'pot' – *tènǯerí:na* – *tènǯeriná:ta*

and in syntagmatic units,

nà-ré:ka 'on the river' sg indef – *nà-reká:ta* sg def
prèd-vrá:ta 'in front of the door' sg indef – *prèd-vratá:ta*, etc.

3. We understand fixed accent to be stress that falls on one specific syllable in the phonetic word. In the Macedonian linguistic area, there are three accentual types with fixed stress: 1) accentual type with fixed stress on the penultima; 2) accentual type with fixed stress on the antepenultima (third syllable from the end); 3) accentual type with fixed stress on the initial syllable.

3.1. The accentual type with stress fixed on the penultima is limited to the Korča dialect, which includes the urban dialect of Korča and the villages of Boboščica and Drenoveni.[2] The stress regularly falls on the penultimate syllable regardless of the character of the morpheme, e.g.,

nóš 'knife' – *nóžo* sg def – *nožóvi* pl indef – *nožovíte* pl def,
stárec óld man' – *staréco* sg def – *starcatógo* sg def acc – *starcutómu* sg def dat – *stárci* pl indef – *starcítim* pl def dat,
žéna – *ženáta* sg def – *žen'ǻte* pl def – *žen'ǻtuj* dat sg def
lendína 'lawn' – *lendináta* sg def,
póle 'field' – *poleníšča* sg indef – *poleniščáta* sg def ,
vísok – *visókjo* 'high' def sg masc – *visóka* sg indef fem – *visokáta* sg def,
ímam 'have' 1 sg pres – *imáme* 1 pl pres – *imáše* 2–3 sg impf

and in syntagmatic units, e.g.,

nóš – *ná-noš* 'on a knife'
májka 'mother' – *majká-mi* 'my mother',
kurtulisáj-me 'save me' imv 2 sg,
varní-se 'come back' imv 2 sg – *varnité-se* imv 2 pl

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[2] **In the South Slavic area, such an accentual type occur on Serbian linguistic territory in Prizren and the region of Sirinić.**

The stress type in Korča is the final phase in the development of the Kostur–Lerin accentual system.

3.2. Accentual type with stress fixed on the antepenultima is characteristic of the western Macedonian dialect area. Its eastern and southern borders have been defined above. In the northwest, this model crosses the linguistic border between the western Macedonian dialect area and the Serbian dialect of the Prizren type, including the dialects of Gora and Sretečka Župa north and northwest of Mt. Šar, e.g.,

nóš – *nóžo(v)i* pl indef – *nožóvite* pl def
lédina 'lawn' – *ledínata* sg def – *ledínive* pl def proximate
jarébica 'partridge' – *jarebícata* sg def

This is regular for words with three or more syllables. This rule also applies to syntagmatic units composed of a substantive and attribute with a neutral function, e.g., *bela-kóšula* 'white shirt', *zelená-treva* 'green grass', *našá-kua* 'our house', *mój-čo(v)ek* 'my husband', all sg indef; in prepositional syntagms having an adverbial-spatial function, e.g., *odi ná-niva* 'go to the field' sg indef, *go fati zá-raka* '[s/he] grabbed him by the hand' sg indef, *niz-lívada* 'across the meadow' sg indef, as well as in verbal syntagms with all types of clitics, e.g., *dáj-mi-go* 'give it to me', *doneseté-mu-ja knigata* 'bring him the book', *ne-gó-vide* '[s/he] did not see him', *ne-bešé-došol* '[s/he] had not come', *ne-beše-go-vídele* 'they had not seen him' etc.

This is the general rule. However, within this system there are numerous nuances, especially in syntagmatic units, connected with the meaning of the individual members of the syntagm or with the syntagm as a whole. These will not be discussed here. Instead, we will address another problem which, in the grammar of the standard language, is covered by the phrase "exceptions to antepenultimate stress." We are not talking about foreign words, including the international lexicon, which are numerous in the standard language and which, for the most part, are not subject to the above mentioned rules of accentuation. We have in mind the following:

a) *topána* (topaana)
šámi 'kerchief' pl – *šamí:te* (*šamíite*)

b) *lep* 'bread' – *léboj* sg def – *lebójte (< lebovite)* pl def
polójna sg indef – polójnata sg def (< *polóvina*)
vodéjnca (< *vodénica*)
vikájǩi 'call' pres act part, *odéjǩi* 'go' pres act part, *(< vikáeǩi, odéeǩi)*

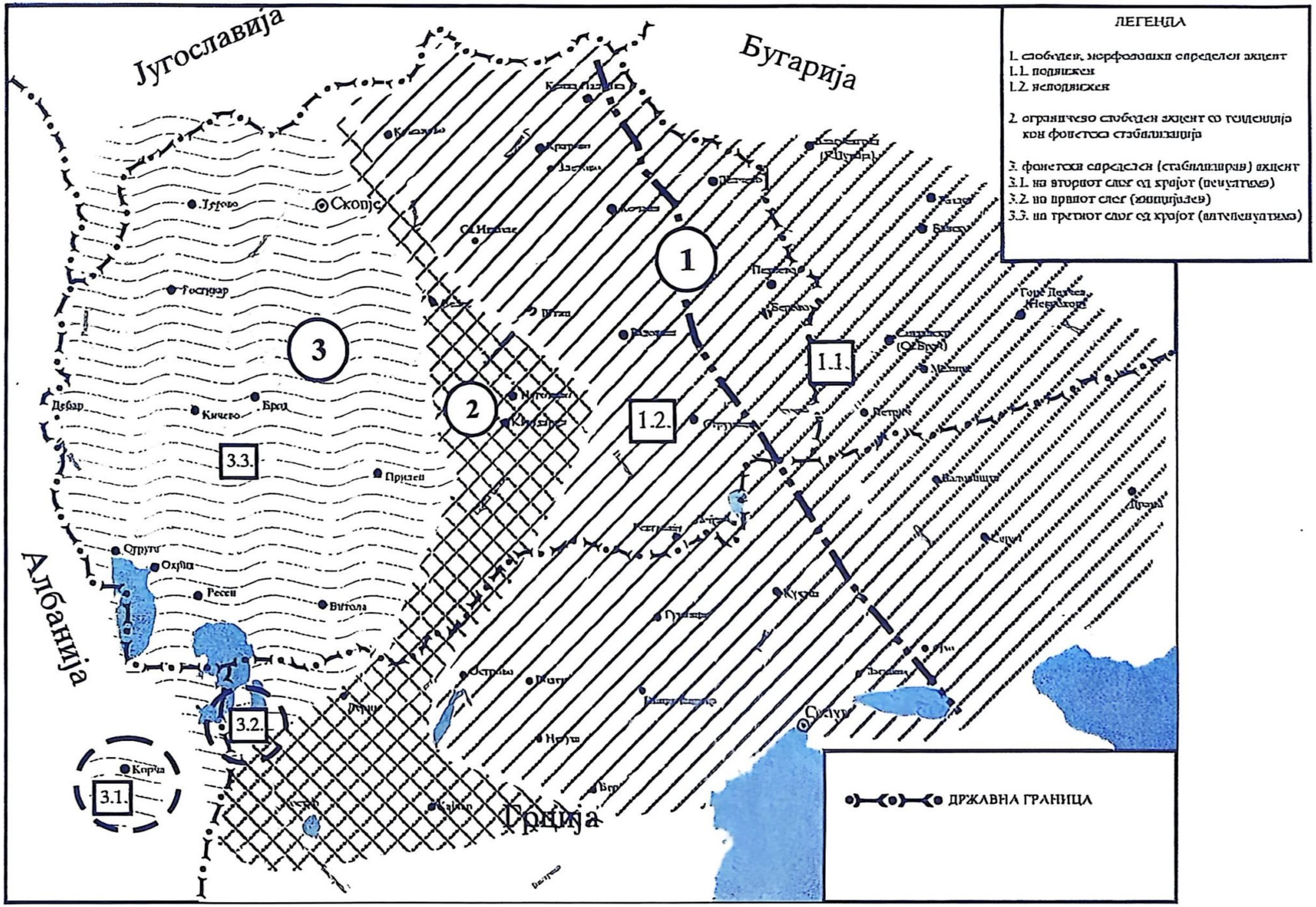
c) *máštja* 'step-mother' – *maštjáta* sg def – *(maštéata)*
počjálo 'reststop' *(počíalo < počívalo)*
ráǩja 'brandy' – raǩ*játa* sg def *(rákia – rakíata)*
Pétrjo – Petrjóto (Petréoto < Petrevoto) (in Struga), etc.

In these and other examples, there are two phonetic phenomena at work: 1) contraction of two vowels *(topaana)*; 2) the merging of two vowels into diphthongal sequences (*a, o, e, u* and *i* > *aj, oj, ej, uj*; *ea, eo* > *jo*; *i* + *a, o, e* > *ja, jo*; *oa, oe* > *va, ve* etc.).

In such cases, the number of morae in the diphthong sequences and/or lengthened vowel is maintained, so that the stress remains on the third mora (albeit on the second syllable).

In some dialects, length is then shortened and the stress is retracted in order to remain on the third mora, e.g., in the Tetovo dialect, *pólojna*, *lúbejnca* or *lúbenca* 'watermelon', *ódejǩi*, *náprajle* etc.

3.3. On a narrow band near Lake Prespa in the direction of the villages Graždeno–Rulja–Oštima–Želevo, stress falls on the initial syllable, e.g., *mózok* – *mózoci* pl indef – *mózocite* pl def, *óbras* – *óbrazo* sg def – *óbrazi* pl indef – *óbrazite* pl def, *lédina* – *lédinata* sg def – *járambicata* sg def – *krástajca* – *krástajcata* sg def (Graždeno), *brégovi* pl indef – *brégovite* pl def, *ístrugae* 'plane' 3rd pers aor pl (Rulja), *ténǯere* – *ténǯerina*, *ízbriko* 'shave' 1st sg aor – *ízbrikome* 3rd pers aor pl (Oščima), and in prepositional syntagm *pó-ulica* 'along the street' (Želevo). However, examples with two stresses (second and penultima) are not unknown, e.g., *sfǎ́šenica* 'fiancee', *čéšlináta* 'comb', pl dim (Želevo).


Југославија
Бугарија
Албанија
Грција
ЛЕГЕНДА
1. слободен, морфолошки определен акцент
1.1. подвижен
1.2. неподвижен
2. ограничено слободен акцент со тенденција кон фонетска стабилизација
3. фонетски определен (стабилизиран) акцент
3.1. на вториот слог од крајот (пенултима)
3.2. на првиот слог (иницијален)
3.3. на третиот слог од крајот (антепенултима)
ДРЖАВНА ГРАНИЦА
1
1.1.
1.2.
2
3
3.1.
3.2.
3.3.
Скопје
Тетово
Гостивар
Дебар
Кичево
Брод
Прилеп
Струга
Охрид
Ресен
Битола
Корча
Горе Драмче (Неврокоп)
Солун

Accentual Systems on Macedonian Linguistic Territory

Is There Phonological Quantity in the Dialects of Macedonian?*

0. Phonological quantity in Macedonian dialects has been the subject of numerous works in Macedonian linguistics. W. Pianka considered this problem in detail in his analysis of material from the standard language and from the dialects in general and concluded that there is phonological length in Macedonian (Pianka, 1960–61: 203–11). At the end of the article, however, he noted that another interpretation of the material was possible.

In the dialects of Macedonian, long vowels developed in numerous ways.

1. Length through the contraction of two same vowels:

ii > [i:]	*zmii* > *zmi: (zmija)* 'snake' pl, *zmiiče* > *zmí:če* 'small snake', *čii* > *či:/néči:/níči:* 'whose', 'someone's', 'no one's', *kutii* > *kuti: (kutija)* 'box' pl, *kutiiče* > *kutí:če* 'small box'
ee > [e:]	*nevesta* > *neesta* > *né:sta* 'bride', *pregéska* > *préeska* > *pré:ska* 'earlier', *pedeset* > *peeset* > *pé:set* 'fifty', *devedeset* > *deveeset* > *devé:set* 'ninety'
aa > [a:]	*snaha* > *snaa* > *sná:* 'sister-in-law', *glava* > *glaa* > *glá:* 'head', *póstava* > *póstaa* > *pósta: // postá:ta* 'lining', *ódaja* > *ódaa* > *óda: // odá:ta* 'room', *pajak* > *páak* > *pa:k // pá:ko(t)* 'spider' indef and def, *ímaat* > *imá:t* 'have' 3 pl pres, *ímaa* > *imá:* 'had' 3 pl. impf,

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aa > [a:]	*óvaa > ová:* ‘this’ fem, *taja > taa > ta:* ‘she’, *topáana > topá:na* ‘armory’
oo > [o:]	*progóvori > progóori > progó:ri* ‘speak up’, *négovo > négoo > négo: // negó:to* ‘his’ indef and def, *jasénovo > jasénoo > jaséno: // jasenó:to* ‘ash’ adj n sg indef and def, *leto-ovo > letó:vo* ‘this summer’

Note: a) In all cases, length developed after the loss of a consonant (*j*, *h*, *v*, *d*, *ǵ* and others) in intervocalic position, which is common in the western and southwestern Macedonian dialects; b) contraction affected the subsequent syllables, most often at the juncture with inflectional morphemes; c) at the juncture of derivational morphemes, contraction did not occur, e.g.,

ii	*príima* ‘accept’,
ee	*préeče (preseče)* ‘cut’, *preésapi* ‘calculate’, *séedno* ‘all the same’, *crnoóko* ‘dark-eyed’ adj neut,
aa	*záaka* ‘begin to wander’, *náaka* ‘wandered far’,
oo	*póodi*, ‘walk a little’, *póostro* ‘sharper’

There are pairs, contrasted only by long and short vowels, e.g.,

a – a:	*pak* ‘again’ – *pa:k (pajak)* ‘spider’, *ta – ta: (taa)* ‘she’, *ova* ‘this’ n – *ova:* ‘this’ fem , *víka* 1 sg pres – *víka:* ‘call’ 3 pl impf, *víkat* 3 sg – *víka:t* 3 pl, *sat (sad)* ‘vessel’ – *sa:t* ‘hour’, *mála* ‘small’, adj – *má:la (mahala)* ‘neighborhood’
o – o:	*négo* (acc. of *toj*) – *négo: (negovo)* ‘his’, *tátko* father’ – *tátko*: *(tatkovo)* ‘father’s’, *mážo* ‘man’ def – *mážo*: *(mažovo)* ‘man’s
e – e:	*sme* (pl of *sum*) – *sme: (smee)* ‘laugh’, *se* (reflexive pronoun) // *sè* ‘everything’ – *se: (see)* ‘sow’

Based only on these examples, it would seem that /i:/, /e:/, /o:/, and /a:/ which developed in the above-mentioned way are indeed separate phonemes, in other words, length is phonological. Here, Pianka is correct in his conclusions, however: a) contraction of two same vowels is not automatic, e.g., *záaka* 'begin to wander', *príima*, *préeče*, *próodi*; b) contraction occurs in specific morphological positions, and c) where is the syllable boundary—does it pass through a long vowel? If the morpheme boundary passes through a long vowel, as Stojkov argues, then it is composed of two short vowels (Stojkov 1961: 80). In this case then, they are not true long vowels. In these examples, the boundary is located exactly on the long vowels, e.g., *ó-va-a*, *í-ma-at* (not *í-ma:t*), *smé-e* vs. *sme*, *má-žó-o* vs. *má-žo*, etc.); d) the place of stress is also one of the indicators of length, e.g., *topá:na*, *négo:* and *negó:to*, *progó:ri*, but according to the rules of antepenultimate stress in the western dialects, and the standard, one would expect the following pronunciations, *tópa:na*, *négo:to*, *prógo:ri*.

2. In many dialects of Macedonian, assimilation in vowel sequences, both progressive and regressive, preceded contraction, e.g.,

ae > ee > e: *víkaet* 3 pl pres > *víkeet* > *víke:t* 'call' (Debar, Struga, Ohrid),
oe > ee > e: *čóvek* > *čoek* > *čéek* > *če:k* 'man' (Prespa),
ea > ee > e: *sméa* > *smée* > *sme:* 'laugh'

or:

oe > oo > o: *čóek* > *čóok* > *čo:k* (Prespa), *tóvar* > *tóar* > *toor* > *to:r* 'load', *to:ro(t) pl/tó:rite* pl def, *sóha* > *sóa* > *soo* > *so:* 'owl', *ósnova* > *ósnoa* > *ósnoo* > *ósno:/osnó:ta* 'basis', *kováčnica* > *koáčnica* > *kóočnica* > *kó:čnica/ko:čnicata* 'blacksmith's shop',
ao > oo > o: *úbavo* > *úbao* > *úboo* > *úbo:/ubó:to* 'beautiful' neut,
uo > oo > o: *Súvodol* > *Súodol* > *Só:dol*,
eo > oo > o: *névol'a* > *néol'a* > *nóol'a* > *nó:l'a/nó:l'ata* 'trouble' indef and def,

au > ao > oo > o: *Naum/Naumče* > *Náom* > *Nóom* > *No:m/Nó:mče*

In this way, the following forms developed: *godiná:va* 'this year', *zimá:va* 'this winter', *letó:vo* 'summer', *esená:va* 'this fall', all def forms *(< godina-*

ova > godináava > godiná:va), all of which, along with *topána*, are considered exceptions to the antepenultimate stress rule in the standard.

Likewise, the assimilation of vowels did not occur at a juncture between derivational morphemes, e.g., *se náeži* 'get goosebumps', *préaka* 'walk through', *póarči* 'spend', *póarno* 'better', *páun* 'peacock'. Compare also the minimal pairs: *ček* 'check' – *čé:k* 'man', *smea > sme:* 'laugh' – *sme* 1 pl pres of *sum*, *so* 'with' (prep) – *so: (soa)* 'owl'. In respect to the syllable boundary and place of stress, the above-mentioned rules apply.

3. In one part of the Lower Vardar dialects, especially in the dialects of Kukuš, Dojran, and Gevgelija, vowel sequences in final position, and less often in medial syllables, are subject, as a rule, to assimilation and contraction, e.g.,

ae > aa > a:	*bae > ba:* 'perform magic', *znáe > zna:* 'know',
ie > ii > i:	*vie > vi:* 'you', *nie > ni:* 'we',
ia > ii > i:	*Ilija > Ilia > Ili:*,
ea > ee > e:	*néa > ne:* 'she', *péat > pe:t*, *péam > pe:m* 'sing', *léa > le:* 'flower bed',
oa > o:	*ódat > óat > o:t* 'go', *bróam > bro:m* 'count', *sóa > so:* 'owl', *vódata > vóata > vó:ta* 'water' def,
oe > o:	*móe > mo:* 'my', *stóe > sto:* 'stand',
ua > u:	*múa > mu:* 'fly',
ue > u:	*dúe > du:* 'blow', *ubú: (ubúe < obúe)* 'put on shoes', *lú:to (lúǵeto)* 'people'

3.1. In the dialects of several villages in the Dojran area (Furka, Nikoliḱ) according to Peev (Peev, 1979) the vowels are assimilated to the second component in the sequence, e.g.,

eo > o:	*négo > neo > nóo > no:* 'him',
ea > aa > a	*néa > na:* 'her',
ia > a:	*nósea > nósa:* 'carry, wear'

3.1.1. In the same dialect, in sequences with *i* as the second component, falling diphthongs are formed, since *i* developed into *i̯*, e.g.,

ai > ai̯	*kásai > kásai̯* 'bite', *rátai > ratai̯* 'ploughman', *óbičaj > običai >običai̯* 'custom', *líšaj > líšai > líšai̯* 'lichen',
oi >o:i̯	*moi > mo:i̯* 'my', *nékoj – nékoi > neko:i̯* 'someone'

4. Besides length from assimilation, compensatory length is often found in many dialects of Macedonian.

4.1. One may follow this process in diphthong sequences which arose following the dissyllabification of one member of the vowel sequence. Such diphthong sequences (diphthongoids) are especially common in the western and southwestern dialects of Macedonian, where consonants are often lost in intervocalic position. Most numerous are those sequences containing a front vowel, e.g.,

ei > e:i̯	*stréi* > *stré:i̯* 'eaves', *slávei* > *sláve:i̯* 'nightingale' pl,
ai > a:i̯	*snai* > *sna:i̯, pravi* > *prai* > *prá:i̯* 'do', *právite* > *práite* > *prá:i̯te, naprá:i̯te* (cf. *náprajte*) 'make', *kukávica* > *kukáica* > *kuká:i̯ca* (cf. *kukájcata* < *kukaícata*) 'cuckoo, coward', *krastá:i̯ca* 'cucumber',
oi > o:i̯	*lébovi* > *léboi* > *lébo:i̯/lebó:i̯te* 'loaves of bread', *polóvina* > *polóina* > *poló:i̯na/poló:i̯nata* 'half', *kisló:i̯na* 'acid',
ui > u:i̯	*mu(h,v)a* 'fly, insect', sg *mui* > *mu:i̯* pl, *buržuj* – *búržu:i̯* (cf. *buržu:i̯te*) 'bourgeois'

In this position in the village of Čegan (Lerin region), the sequence *ii* > *i:i̯* e.g., *zmíi* > *zmí:i̯* 'snakes', *súdii* > *súdi:i̯* 'judges'.

At the juncture with prefixes, *i* does not undergo any change, e.g., *neíspien* 'not drunk', *náide* (cf. *nájde*) 'find', *záide* (cf. *zájde*) 'set, sun', *póita,* 'to hurry up' etc.

In the dialects of Tikveš and Lower Vardar, e.g.,

e:i̯	*žé:i̯nte (< žéinte < žénite)* 'women',
a:i̯	*brá:i̯te (bradite)* 'beards', *mlá:i̯te (mladite)* 'youth',
o:i̯	*kó:i̯ste/kó:i̯zte (kozite)* 'goats',
u:i̯	*drú:i̯ste/drú:i̯zte (drúizte < druzite)* 'others',
ǎ́:i̯	*mǎ́:i̯šte (mǎ́ižte < mǎ́žite)* 'men',
i:i̯	*vi:i̯š (< víiš < vídiš)* 'see' (examples are from the village Čegan)

and from Tikveš, e.g.,

a:i̯	*má:i̯šte (mážite)* ‘men’,
o:i̯	*kó:i̯šte (kóžite)* ‘skins’,
e:i̯	*lé:i̯šte (léžite)* ‘lie down’,
a:i̯	*má:i̯ste (mázite)* ‘rub’

More limited are those examples in which *e* changes to *i̯*, e.g.,

ae > a:i̯	*klá:i̯nc (kládenec)* ‘spring’,
oe > o:i̯	*gó:i̯do, gó:i̯dar (góvedo, góvedar)* ‘cowherd’,
ee > e:i̯	*Pátevec > Páteec > Páte:i̯c*

In the Struga speech area, there are also rising diphthongs, since the first element of the vocalic sequence was also disyllabized, e.g.,

ie > i̯e:	*sóšie > sóši̯e:* ‘sew up’,
ia > i̯a:	*rákia > ráki̯a: (> ráǩa)* ‘brandy’, *raǩi̯á:ta* def, *šámia > šámi̯a:, šami̯á:ta* ‘kerchief’, *Makedóni̯a:, Itáli̯a:,*
io > i̯o:	*béli̯o:t (béliot)* ‘white’, *zeléni̯o:t* ‘green’,
ea > i̯a:	*béa > bi̯a*: ‘were’, *sédea > sédi̯a:* ‘sat’,
eo > i̯o:	*čérevo > čéreo > čéri̯o:*

In all of these examples, and in many others with such vocalic sequences in the above-mentioned dialects, length is compensatory and of a *phonetic* character. The place of stress demonstrates that the diphthongal sequences are composed of two morae in such cases as the following: *vodé:i̯nca, poló:i̯na, ostá:i̯le (ostavile), Makedóni̯a:*, as well as in forms of the verbal adv in the standard as well as in the dialects, e.g., *viká:i̯ǩi* ‘calling’, *odé:i̯ǩi* ‘going’, along with the dialectal *vikáeǩi, noséeǩi*, and *vikáešti/vikáešči, noséešti/noséešči, noséeščem.*

In the Lower Polog dialects (Tetovo, Vratnica) and in the dialect of the Gora (Prizren region), this length is shortened, hence the stress has been moved to the third syllable in words with three or more syllables, e.g., *kápai̯ca* ‘rain water’, *krástai̯ca, pólói̯na, óstai̯le* ‘left’, *víkai̯ǩi.*

5. In some dialects of Macedonian a different type of compensatory length developed after the complete loss of consonants.

The phoneme /x/ was lost in all positions in many eastern dialects along the Kriva Palanka –Kratovo–Kumanovo–Štip–Radoviš line, as well as in Tikveš–Mariovo and the Lerin–Kostur dialects. In initial and intervocalic positions, the loss of /x/ was of no consequence, e.g., *rana* ‘food’, *lep* ‘bread’, *snáa, sáat, víkaa* (< *vikaha* ‘call’ 3 pl impf), and *vikáa* 3 pl aor. In several local dialects however, after the loss of /x/ in intervocalic position, a hiatic sound appeared, e.g., *snáva*, *sávat*, *víkava* in Kumanovo and Skopje Crna Gora, or *víkaja*, as a means to avoid homonymy with 3 pl pres in dialects where the suffix *-t* was lost, e.g., *víkaa* 3 pl pres vs. *víkaja* 3 pl impf in the Polog dialects. In these dialects the preceding vowel was lengthened as compensation for loss of /x/ in final position, e.g., *gra:* (*grax* 'beans'), *vr̥:* (*vr̥h* 'peak'), *du:* (*dux* 'spirit'), *ni:* (*nih* 'theirs') in the Lerin dialect (Mazon 1923 : 30), but *gráo(t)*, *vŕ̥o(t)*, *stráo(t)* 'fear', *meo(t)*, all def.

It is possible to find minimal pairs in order to verify the phonological character of length, e.g., *pra:* (*prax* 'dust') – *pra* 'do, make' 3 sg aor, *me:* (*mex* 'fur') – *me* 'me' pron, *gre:* (*grex* 'sin') – *gre* 'heat' 3 sg pres. However, in this phonetic position, length of the vowels is not equivalent to two short vowels, therefore one may speak of half-length.

Compensatory length is somewhat more apparent when /x/ is lost in medial position before consonants, where it often is a part of inflectional endings (e.g., *-xme*, *-xte* in 1 and 2 pl aor–impf).

The eastern dialects provide material to illustrate all phases of the phonetic process conditioned by the loss of the phoneme /x/. In the dialects of Osogovo along the Kriva Palanka–Kratovo–Zletovo–Kočani line, in some lexemes in this position, there is a weakly aspirated ˣ, which occasionally takes the form of aspiration accompanied by lengthening of the preceding vowel, e.g., *bu:ˣná* 'burst', *bó:ˣča* 'bundle', *vé:ˣto* 'old' n sg, *izve:ˣtélo* 'worn out', *izdi:ˣnálo* 'dead', besides *dú:ni* 'blow out', *du:ná*, *pŕ̥:ne* 'to blow a little', *pŕ̥:ná*, *pá:ta* 'woman's belt buckle', in villages in the eastern Kriva Palanka region, *me:ˣ*, *ti:ˣ* 'quiet', *stra:ˣ* 'fear', *vé:ˣto, ti:ˣná, bu:ˣná, ní:ˣno* (Kočani region, Trkańe village), *obrá:ˣče* 'cheek' hypocoristic, *oglu:ˣnál* 'become deaf', *a:ˣčíka* 'cook' fem, besides *siromá:* 'poor', *me:lém* (Lezovo). Somewhat to the west of the above-mentioned line, /x/ is lost completely, leaving only the preceding vowels lengthened, e.g., *du:ná*, *oglu:ná*, *vé:to*, *me:lém*, and for verbs in the impf *íma:me*, *íma:te*, aor *imá:me*, *imá:te* 'have', (Trkańe, Lezovo). In the villages in the western Kriva Palanka and Kratovo regions and in Ovče Pole all the way to Štip, long vowels have been broken into two short sounds, since these dialects do not allow long vowels, e.g., *bóoča*, *véeto*, *meelém*, *duuná*, *páata* 'woman's belt buckle', impf *ímaamo – ímaate*, *nóseemo – nóseete* 'carry, wear', (Kriva Palanka, Vidoeski, 1962: 77), *béeme – béete* 'were', *víknaame – víknaate* (Lezovo, Kočani region), *nóseemo – nóseete* and *nóseamo – nóseate* (the endings *-amo*, *-ate* have been generalized by analogy with *a*-stem verbs, e.g., *víka-amo, víka-ate* 'call', *nóse-amo, nóse-ate*, Nemańinci, Ovče Pole region).

In these dialects, examples of minimal pairs with long and short vowels are:

víka 3 sg pres vs *víka:* 1 sg impf vs. *viká:* 1–3 sg aor; *víkamo/víkate* 1–2 pl pres vs. *víka:mo/víka:te* 1–2 pl impf vs. *viká:mo/viká:te* 1–2 pl aor (Nemańinci),
ímame/ímate pres vs. *íma:me/íma:te* impf,
béreme/bérete pres vs. *bére:me/bére:te* 'gather, choose' impf,
nóseme/nósete pres vs. *nóse:me/nóse:te* impf (Štip region)

Similar phenomena may be seen in the Razlog dialect. In the village Elešnica these forms have been noted: *je:lá // jeelá* 'alder', *me:lém // meelém, já:ne, ja:nija* (*jaxnija* 'kind of soap'), *gléda:me // glédaame* 'look', *nóse:me, uré:me* (*orame* 'plough'), *pí:me* 'drink', *izmí:me* 'clean', *čú:me // čúume* (instead of *čuxme* 'listen'). In the same dialect, vowels were lengthened also in cases when the clusters *žd* to *žž* were reduced to *ž*, e.g., *ví:ža* (*vižda* > *vížža* > *ví:ža* 'see'), *me:žá* 'landmark', *pré:ža* 'yarn', *rá:ža* 'to bear', *sá:ži* 'soot', *dá:žuve* (*dáždove*), *grá:žanín* 'citizen', *da:žé* (article forms from *dažd*), *dó:ža* 'rain', *čú:žu* 'foreign, alien', also *să:zá* (**slьza* 'teardrop'). In several places in this dialect, long vowels are replaced with two like vowels *(viiža, raaža, dooža, čuuži).*

Based on this material then, the following may be concluded. First, in those dialects where compensatory length arose after the loss of the phoneme /x/ as in the Elešnica dialect in the Razlog region, and after the contraction of the sequences *žd* > *žž* > *ž*, length is phonological—long vowels are realized with a single articulation i.e., the syllable or morpheme border passes through them, e.g., *víka:me* (cf. aor *viká:me* vs. pres *víkame*). Second, long vowels are not dependent on the location of stress, they can be both stressed and unstressed, e.g., *dú:ni (duxni), ní:no, viká:me,* and *víka:me, nóse:me, me:lém, je:lá.* Third, with respect to short vowels, long vowels in these dialects have a more limited distribution, e.g., they appear, mainly, in the 1 and 2 pl of the impf and aor, in the 1 sg of the aor *(viká:, rekó:),* where they are morphologically motivated, and in separate lexemes in medial position always before a consonant *(bó:ča, bu:ná, me:lém)* and in final position *(kožú:, siromá:), bu: (bux), gre: (grex).*

The vowel systems of these dialects have a new distinctive feature—quantity, and along with this, the number of separate vowels has increased:

i i:		*u u:*
e e:	*ă ă:*	*o o:*
	a a:	

In the Kriva Palanka and in a part of the Kratovo–Ovče Pole dialect area, unaccented long vowels before consonants are broken into two short elements, e.g., *meelém*, *duuná*, *kópaamo*, *nóseeme*, but *kopá:*, *kopá:mo*, *rekó: – rekó:mo*, *nosí: – nosí:mo*, *kožú:*, *siromá:*.

6. In the southern dialects of Macedonian along the Kajlar–Voden–Solun–Serez line, in specific forms, vowels before the definite article (which functions as an inflectional ending) are very often completely reduced, i.e., elided. This phenomenon is especially apparent in the Kukuš–Voden speech area, which also includes here the Dojran, Gevgelija, Meglen, and Solun areas. In such cases, the vowel in the preceding syllable is lengthened, e.g.,

bábata > bábạta > bá:bta ‘grandmother’,
gláv̦ata > glá:vta ‘head’

ríbạta > rí:bta ‘fish’,
pílẹto > pí:l’to ‘chick’,
mulínạta > mulí:nta ‘mules’,
sélọto > sé:lto, sélata > sé:lta ‘village’,
zélẹto > zé:l’to ‘spinach, orach’
žénạta > žé:nta ‘woman’,
žénite > žé:nte // žé:jnte ‘women’,
bélite > bé:l’te ‘white’ pl

pólẹto > pó:l’to ‘field’,
vulóvẹto > vuló:vto ‘oxen’,
kózạta > kó:zta ‘goat’,
kózite > kó:jzte ‘goats’

rúbạta > rú:bta ‘clothes’,
úšeto > ú:što ‘ears’,
drúgoto > drú:gto óther, second’ neut

gălắbite > gălắ:bte ‘pigeons’,
băldắzạta > băldắ:zta ‘sister-in-law (wife’s sister)’ etc.

Exceptions occur only in cases when a phonetic impediment arises due to consonant clusters, e.g.,

métlạta > *métạlta* 'broom' (by metathesis),
mắglạta > *mắglạta/mắgạlta* 'fog',
tíkvạta > *tíkvạta* 'squash',
jágutkạta 'berry, strawberry',
rắždạta 'rye',
srébruto/srébạrto 'silver',
óstrạta 'sharp' adj fem, etc.

In conclusion, then, two questions arise. First, does the reduced vowel before an article morpheme automatically drop out when the article morpheme assumes its grammatical function? In such a case, lengthening of the preceding vowel would be explained by compensation. In the same dialects such examples are also found: *kó:j̯ste* (*kozite* 'goats'), *nó:j̯ste* (*nozete* 'legs'), *kó:j̯šte* (*kožite* 'skins'), *ló:j̯sto* (*lozeto* 'vineyard'), *drú:j̯ste (druzite)*, *lé:j̯šte* (*ležite* 'lie' 2 pl), etc. The process for these examples may be explained in the following way: *kózite* > *kóizte* > *kó:j̯z(s)te*; this means, first, the reduced *i* was metathesized, then in its new phonetic position (after a vowel) was desyllabized to *j̯*. That metathesis occurred in this position is shown by the following examples: *métlạta* > *métạlta*, *rébrạta* > *rébạrta* 'rib', *vláknạta* > *vlákạnta* 'hair', etc. In several villages in the Kukuš region, Peev (Peev 1979: 50) noted such examples: *zéel'to (ẓeleto)*, *séemto* (*semeto* 'seed'), *bugáarto* (*bugareto* 'Bulgarian' pl def), *na kóạlta* (*na kolata* 'on the car'), *nóogta* and *nóạgta* (*nogata* 'leg' def), *vóạta* (*vodata* 'water' def), *punúuta* (*ponudata* 'offer'). In the Tikveš dialect, the following forms have been recorded: *kóašta* (*kožata* 'skin'), *rúašta* (*ružata* 'rose'), *blúasta* (*bluzata* 'blouse'), *sắasta* (*săzata* 'soot'), *níasta* (*nizata* 'sequence'), and *ní:j̯ste (nizite)*, *kó:j̯ste (kozite)*, *sắ:j̯ste* (*săzite*), *dắ:j̯ste* (*dăzite* 'long' adj pl def) (Filipovski, 1952: 10). I recorded the following forms in the village Čegan (Voden region): *kótạlte* (*kotlite* 'cauldron'), *vlákạnto* (*vlaknoto* 'hair'), but *brá:j̯te* (*bradite* 'chins'), *žé:j̯nte* (*ženite*), *mắ:j̯šte* (*măžite* 'men').

All of these examples confirm D. Ivanov's thesis (1932) that the vowel before the article, which in unaccented positions was already reduced, metathesized first, and then was assimilated to the preceding vowel, which was in a phonetically stronger position, e.g., the process developed in the following way: *mrávata* > *mrávạta* > *mráạvta* > *mrá:vta* 'ant'; *kóžata* > *kóžạta* > *kóạžta* > *kóožta* > *kó:šta* 'skin'. This means that length arose as a result of contraction of two vowels. Of course, analogical formation can not be ruled out, e.g., *ríbite* > *ríibte* > *rí:bte*, and later by analogy *rí:bta* (*ribata* 'fish').

Second, the character of the long vowels is an open question—by what measure are they long (is a long vowel composed of two short vowels)? Dmitar Mirčev (Mirčev 1901) in his description of the Kukuš–Voden dialects, suggested that relative length represents a remnant of old quantity. This thesis was rejected in other investigations of the Lower Vardar dialects. According to Dmitar Ivanov, the long vowels are new (Ivanov 1932: 60). Georgi Hristov interpreted the lengthening of vowels as compensation for lost sounds (Hristov 1936: 107). Stojan Romanski maintained that vowels lengthened in this way do not have the value of two short vowels (lengthened *o* is not equivalent to *oo*, rather, it is only somewhat lengthened), which would mean that he sensed that those accented vowels in the dialects he examined were half-long. He argued that reduction is not the reason for the lengthened pronunciation of vowels (Romanski 1932: 39).

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List of Place Names Located Outside of the Republic of Macedonia

Macedonian	Other Form
Ber	Veroia (Gk)
Goce Delčev	Nevrokop (Bg)
Kajlar	Ptolemaïs (Gk)
Korča	Korçë (Alb)
Kostur	Kastoria (Gk)
Lagadina	Lankadas (Gk)
Lerin	Florina (Gk)
Neguš	Nausa (Gk)
Ostrovo	Arnissa (Gk)
Pazar	Giannitsa (Gk)
Serez	Serrai (Gk)
Solun	Thessaloniki (Gk)
Suho	Sohos (Gk)
Visoka	Osa (Gk)
Voden	Edesa (Gk)

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* All items in this bibliography are recorded in the language of the original. A list of abbreviations follows on p. 182.

1953

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1960

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1997

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271. *Педесет години на македонската лингвистика.* – Педесет години на македонската наука за јазикот : прилози од научниот собир одржан од 30 ноември до 2 декември 1995 во Скопје. – Скопје : МАНУ, стр. 7–18.
272. *Фонолошкиот систем на говорот на селото Зрнево, Драмско.* – Зборник во чест на Радмила Угринова-Скаловска : по повод седумдесетгодишнината. – Скопје : Филолошки факултет, стр. 37–58 : 1 к.

1998

273. *Македонскиот јазик меѓу балканските словенски и несловенски јазици.* – Прилози, МАНУ, XXII, 1–2, стр. 7–14. – (Реферати на македонските слависти за XII меѓународен славистички конгрес во Краков.)

274. *Systemy wokaliczne dialektów macedońskich. Aspekt slawistyczny i bałkanistyczny*, SLP-M 9, 167–178, Toruń.
275. Дијалектите на македонскиот јазик, I – 1–365 + 56 карти, II – 1–250 + 8 карти, III – 1–263 + 100 карти, Скопје: МАНУ

1999

276. *Географска терминологија во дијалектите на македонскиот јазик*, Скопје: МАНУ, 1–192 + карти
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278. *Macedonica* (selected articles by Vidoeski in Polish), Slavia Meridionalis 2, Warszawa: Instytut Slawistyki PAN, 1–195.

2000

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280. Текстови од дијалектите на македонскиот јазик в избор подготвил Б. Видоески, Скопје: ИМЈ, 1–442, карта
281. Прашалник за собирање материјал за македонскиот дијалектен атлас, Скопје: ИМЈ, 1–275 + карта

Abbreviations

ABS	Acta Baltico-Slavica. Warszawa
BF	Balkan Forum – Скопје
Билтен, МАНУ	Билтен на Македонската академија на науките и уметностите. Скопје
Борба	Борба. Орган Социјалистичког савеза радног народа Југославије. Београд
Wslav	Die Welt der Slaven. München
GAL	Gjurmime albanologjike, Seria e shkencave filologjike. Prishtinë
ГЗбф-лф	Годишен зборник / Филолошки факултет на Универзитетот „Кирил и Методиј“. Скопје

ГЗбфф	Годишен зборник / Филозофски факултет на Универзитетот „Кирил и Методиј“. Скопје
ЗбФЛ	Зборник Матице српске за филологију и лингвистику. Нови Сад
ZJPWN	Zeszyty językoznawcze. Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe. Warszawa
JPJ	Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Językoznawcze. Kraków
IJSLP	International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics. Columbus, OH
JSSS	Jugoslavenski seminar za strane slaviste. – Zadar : Filozofski fakultet. Zavod za slavistiku, 1985
ЈФ	Јужнословенски филолог, Београд
КЖ	Културен живот. Скопје
Комунист	Комунист. Орган на Сојузот на комунистите на Македонија. Скопје
ЛЗб	Литературен збор. Списание на Сојузот на друштвата за македонски јазик и литература. Скопје
МАНУ	Македонска академија на науките и уметностите
МВ	Македонско време. Скопје
МЈ	Македонски јазик. Скопје
MR	Macedonian Review. Skopje
Научна дискусија	(...) научна дискусија. – Скопје : Универзитет „Кирил и Методиј“. Семинар за македонски јазик, литература и култура
НМ	Нова Македонија. Орган на Социјалистичкиот сојуз на работниот народ на Македонија
ОКДА-вступительный выпуск	Общекарпатский диалектологический атлас : вступительный выпуск. – Скопје : Македонская академия наук и искусств, 1987
ОКДА, 1	Общекарпатский диалектологический атлас. – Вып. 1. – Кишинев : „Штиинца“, 1989
ОКДА, II	Общекарпатский диалектологический атлас. – II. – Москва : „Наука“, 1988

ОКДА, 2	Общекарпатский диалектологический атлас. – Вып. 2. – Москва : Российская Академия Наук, 1994
ОКДА, 3	Общекарпатский диалектологический атлас. – Вып. 3. – Warszawa: Res Publica Press, 1991
ОКДА, 4	Общекарпатский диалектологический атлас. – Вып. 4. – Львов, 1993
ОЛА-вступительный выпуск	Общеславянский лингвистический атлас : вступительный выпуск. – Москва : „Наука“, 1978
ОЛА, Ф-Г, 1	Общеславянский лингвистический атлас : серия фонетико-грамматическая. – Вып. 1 : Рефлексы *ě – Белград : Сербская академия наук и искусств, 1988
ОЛА, Ф-Г, 2а	Общеславянский лингвистический атлас : серия фонетико-грамматическая. – Вып. 2а. Рефлексы *ę – Москва, „Наука“, 1990
ОЛА, Ф-Г, 2б	Общеславянский лингвистический атлас : серия фонетико-грамматическая. – Вып. 2б. Рефлексы *ǫ. – Wrocłav : Warszawa : Kraków : Ossolineum : Polska Akademia Nauk, 1990
ОЛА, Ф-Г, 3	Общеславянский лингвистический атлас : серия фонетико-грамматическая. – Вып. 3. Рефлексы *ьr, *ъr, *ьl, *ъl. – Warszawa : Polska Akademia Nauk, 1994
OnJug	Onomastica Jugoslavica. Glasilo Međuakademijskog odbora za onomastiku. Zagreb
OpUrb	Opuscula Polono-Slavica. Wrocław
ППМАНУ	Пристапни предавања, прилози и библиографија на новите членови на Македонската академија на науките и уметностите. Скопје

Предавања – (...) семинар	Предавања на (...) семинар за македонски јазик, литература и култура. – Скопје : Универзитет „Кирил и Методиј". Семинар за македонски јазик, литература и култура. Скопје
Прилози, МАНУ	Прилози : Одделение за лингвистика и литературна наука. Македонска академија на науките и уметностите. Скопје
PF	Prace Filologiczne. Warszawa
Раз	Разгледи. Скопје
Реферати	Реферати на македонските слависти за (...) меѓународен славистички конгрес. – Скопје : Сојуз на друштвата за македонски јазик и литература на СРМ
Свеске	Свеске. Институт за проучавање националних односа. Сарајево
SlavP	Slavica Pragenzia. Acta Universitatis Carolinae. Praha
СлавСт	Славистички студии. Скопје
SLP-J	Studia Linguistica Polono-Jugoslavica
SLP-M	Studia Linguistica Polono-Meridianoslavica
Слфил	Славянска филология : езикознание. София
SFPS	Studia z Filologii Polskiej i Słowiańskiej. Warszawa
Fonološki opisi	Fonološki opisi srpskohrvatskih / hrvatsko-srpskih, slovenaćkih i makedonskih govora obuhvaćenih Opšteslovenskim lingvistićkim atlasom / Redakcioni odbor : Akademik Pavle Ilić, glavni redaktor (Beograd), izvanredni član JAZU Božidar Finka (Zagreb), akademik Tine Logar (Ljubljana), mr Slobodan Remetić (Beograd), član suradnik JAZU Antun Šojat (Zagreb), akademik Božidar Vidoeski (Skopje), dr Dragomir Vujičić, naučni sekretar (Sarajevo), akademik Jovan Vuković (Sarajevo). – Knjiga I. – Sarajevo : Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1981. – 828 str. : pril. – (Posebna izdanja, knj. LV; Odjeljenje društvenih nauka, knj. 9).

Bibliography compiled by Liljana Ristevska (Skopje, MANU)

Božidar Vidoeski (1920–1998) was the father of Modern Macedonian dialectology. Not only did he publish numerous studies of individual dialects but also broader syntheses that superseded all previous attempts and that remain to this day the foundations of Slavic dialectology on Macedonian linguistic territory. The present collection contains translations of eight of Vidoeski's most important general Macedonian dialectological works, as well as his complete bibliography. It can thus serve as a basic textbook for any course that deals with Macedonian dialects but is also a fund of information and analysis for any scholar interested in the Macedonian language

The articles translated for the present collection span the period from his classic article on Macedonian linguistic geography ("The Dialects of Macedonian in Light of Linguistic Geography", 1962) up to the fruits of a lifetime of studying and thinking about Macedonian dialects: a general overview of Macedonian dialectal differentiation ("The Dialectal Differentiation of the Macedonian Language", 1996) and a study of Macedonian vocalic systems ("The Vocalic Systems of Standard Macedonian and the Dialects of Macedonian", 1997). Taken together, these eight articles give a masterful overview of Macedonian dialectology by the master of the field.

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